THE JOURNAL OF THE INDEPENDENT WOMEN'S FORUM

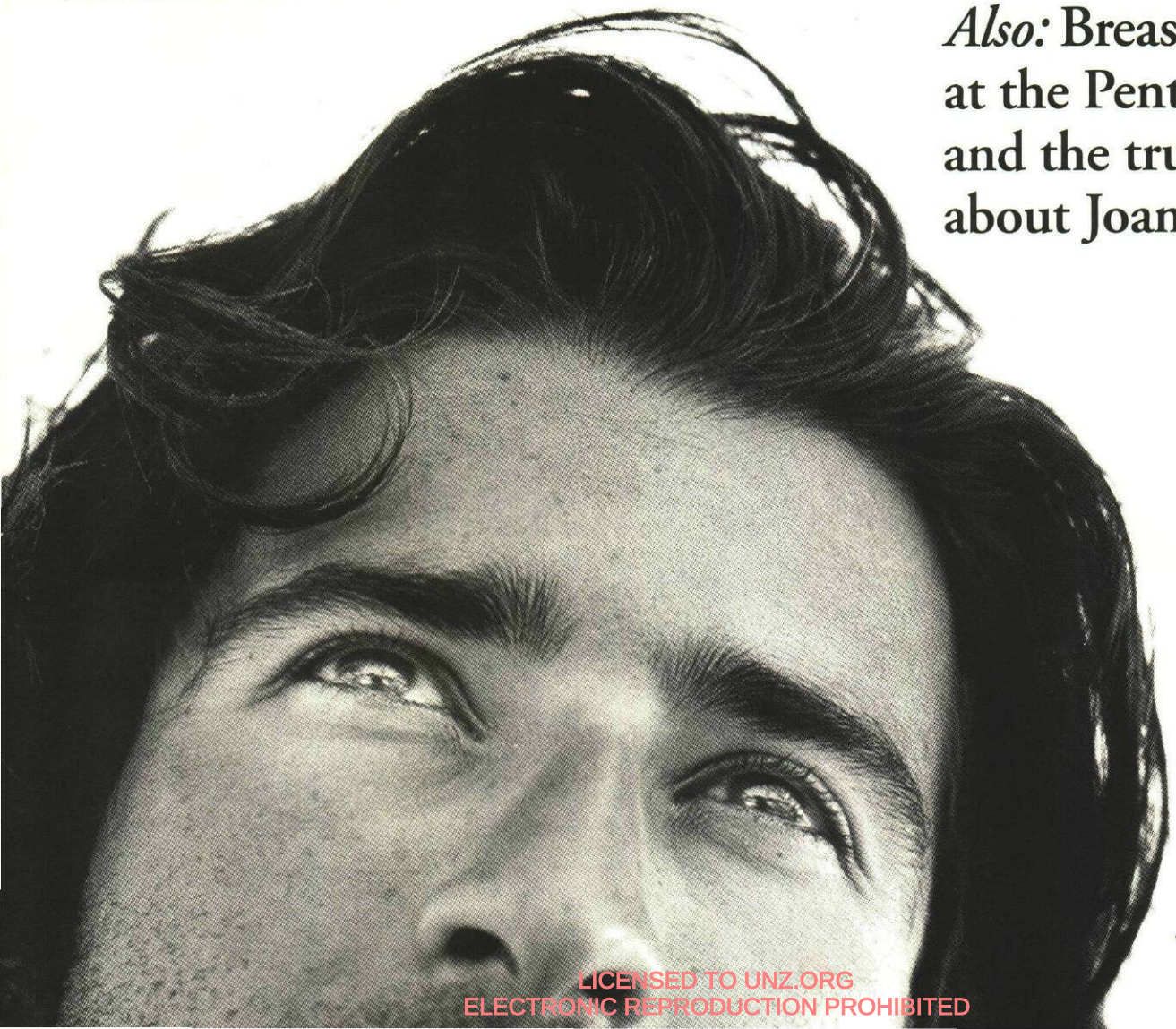
The Women's Quarterly

WINTER 2002 ◆ NO. 30

Is Manhood Really Back in Fashion?

Lionel Tiger, Charlotte Allen, and *Sally L. Satel* on the state of masculinity

Also: Breastfeeding at the Pentagon and the truth about Joan of Arc



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Diary

The Worst Generation

WHY IS EVERYBODY picking on Sara Jane Olson? That seemed to be the question uppermost in the mind of Ms. Olson —the aggrieved former fugitive once known as Kathleen Soliah of the Symbionese Liberation Army—when she spoke to the *New York Times* in December.

The *Times* interview is a chilling portrait of one of the worst members of the worst generation. Olson spent twenty-four years on the lam before the FBI, with the help of "America's Most Wanted," the TV show that helps find fugitive criminals, arrested her in 1999. Olson was wanted for the 1975 attempted murder of two Los Angeles policemen. Pipe bombs had been planted under their car.

Since the arrest, Olson has twice pleaded guilty but later tried (unsuccessfully) to change the plea to innocent. Insisting that his client couldn't get a fair trial in the wake of September 11, Olson's lawyer had the gall to describe her as "a victim of September 11." But then things got even worse for Olson: She and three other SLA alums were charged in January with a Sacramento bank robbery during which a woman, who had come in to make a deposit for her church, was killed.

When the *Times* reporter noted that the charges in the first case against her were not minor ones, Olson responded with the typical baby boomer justification enshrined in the hall of shamelessness by a certain former president—everybody was doing it. "It was in the air," Olson explained during the interview in her lawyer's office. "It was impossible not to be involved."

Yes, a lot of radical notions were blowin' in the wind back then, but not all of us tried to kill people. I contented myself with merely trying to become a migrant worker, a plan that fizzled because nobody in my family would advance me the cash necessary to go out west and meet my fellow migrants.

The Symbionese Liberation Army was a violent, clandestine organization. In 1974, it assassinated Marcus Foster, the first black school superintendent of Oakland, California. His crime: supporting photo IDs for students. The SLA issued a communiqué claiming that this was police state surveillance.

When asked about Foster's murder, Olson said that she had criticized the killing at the time—it alienated the minorities the SLA claimed to want to aid. But Olson said that she supported her friends (by providing food, renting safe houses for them, and stealing wallets to create false identities) after Foster's killing only out of the goodness of her heart: "I really just thought I was trying to help them survive. Does it help if more people are dying?" In the interview, Olson tried to portray herself as a marginal figure in the SLA. Patty Hearst, however, who met Soliah when the SLA kidnapped Patty in 1974, described Soliah in her 1982 autobiography, *Every Secret Thing*, as an insider who helped plan and execute bank robberies, including the Sacramento robbery.

Olson has lots of supporters. She's been feted in a trendy café in Los Angeles and there is a website to raise money for her defense. "We recognize that justice comes at a price," it says, managing to combine pomposity and victimhood in one short sentence. Olson, who attended cooking school while on the lam, is reportedly a fabulous cook, and for a small contribution you, too, can sample the recipes from her book, *Serving Time: America's Most Wanted Recipes*. Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh.

Yet another pro-Olson website argues that Olson should go free because she "hasn't been accused of a crime in a quarter of a century" and because nobody died in the bombing—through no fault of the perpetrators. The bomb was discovered. Her lawyers have taken pains to show that she has been a model citizen. She and her husband, a doctor in St. Paul, Minnesota, once moved to Zimbabwe, where he ran a free clinic and Olson taught English, with, no doubt, uplifting lessons on non-violence and the horrors of capitalism. Their Christmas party guest list includes "the larger peace and justice community in the Twin Cities."

ON THE DAY she was arrested, Olson was en route to teach a citizenship class to recent immigrants. Now that's a frightening thought.

Not surprisingly, there are now reports that Olson, given a stiff sentence for the bombing attempt, may cooperate with the prosecution. Guess her SLA chums are sweating it out to learn how much of a tool of the capitalist establishment she's willing to be.

~Charlotte Hays

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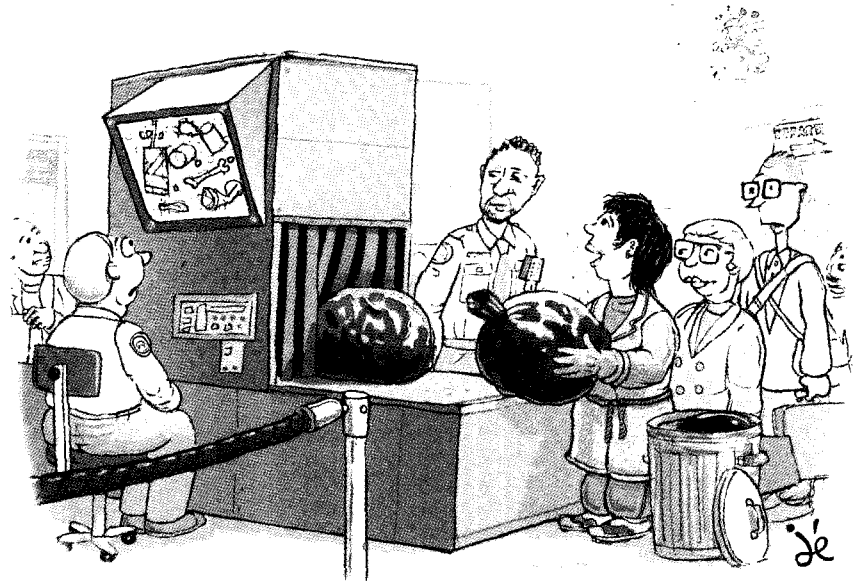

"Oh, I'm not going anywhere but I think I might have accidentally thrown out my car keys."

Cover photo by Francesco Bittichesu. Cartoon (above) by Charles Jaffé

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Booby Traps at the Pentagon

Charmaine and Jack Yoest introduce you to the Pentagon's babes in arms. What do they want? An "open dialogue" on breastfeeding.

On September 10th, the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services, the group most responsible for promoting women in combat, gathered in Pentagon Conference Room 5C1042. This civilian advisory committee, whose members have the protocol status of three-star generals, monitors the concerns of women in uniform. And what was the topic on the eve of the worst attack in U. S. history?

After briefings from representatives of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, and Coast Guard, DACOWITS, as the committee is known, issued a formal request for more information on what they deemed a matter of paramount military significance: breastfeeding.

As the terrorists prepared to hit the World Trade Center towers and the Pentagon itself, our military leaders were directed "to engage in open dialogue" on lactation tactics.

The Defense Advisory Committee on Women celebrated its fiftieth anniversary last April. At the birthday party, President Bush's deputy secretary of defense, Paul Wolfowitz, a man well regarded for his level-headed and conservative approach to military issues, lauded DACOWITS in his address as "an outstanding organization" and told the assembly of earnest women that he "looked forward to [their] advice."

DACOWITS was established by then-secretary of defense, General George C. Marshall, with a mission of advising the secretary on how to recruit, retain, and best use women in the armed services. The committee is composed of thirty to forty civilians appointed by the secretary of defense and is responsible for visiting military installations to talk to women in uniform and to formulate recommendations.

Drawing by Sandy McClelland

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The latest round of appointments to the committee was announced in the final days of the Clinton administration on December 21, 2000, by then-Secretary William Cohen. Cohen's eight appointees, who serve three-year terms, had their appointments ratified in January 2001—after President Bush's inauguration—by a Clinton holdover in the Defense Department cleverly using Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's new autopen, according to the Center for Military Readiness, which is led by former DACOWITS member Elaine Donnelly.

One of these Cohen legacies, Silvana Rubino-Hallman, wrote her doctoral dissertation on women in combat. She concluded that combat is a "male-defined environment" and that women are excluded because "representational practices" have constructed a "reality" defined by "discursive practices" that understand the concept of "warrior" to be implicitly male. Look for a future DACOWITS recommendation: Examine discursive practices as they relate to warrior conceptualization. Institute and enforce gender-neutral usage of warrior terminology.

Chairman of DACOWITS is Vickie McCall, a real estate agent and former Utah alcohol and beverage control commissioner. She told U.S. Air Forces in Europe News Service, "You have to understand. We don't report facts, we report perception." Huh?

The DACOWITS recommendations from the last ten years read like an act from *The Vagina Monologues*: sexual harassment directives as a constant refrain; lobbying for increased child care services; and, most critically, a persistent drumbeat for expanded combat roles for women. A recommendation from 1991 chastised the Marine Corps for continuing to use the slogan: "A few good men." The previous year featured a suggestion that the secretary of the Air Force develop a maternity coat as a uniform option.

Suggested new recruiting slogan: "A gynecologist on every aircraft carrier!" (See the Spring 2001 recommendations where "comprehensive gynecological care" immediately follows "creating opportunities for shipboard experience and warfare qualifications.") Apparently DACOWITS never got word that Newt Gingrich was pilloried for positing a possible connection between field conditions and female infection. Fall 2000 recommendations recognized the need to "ascertain what treatment of gynecological infections is available" and an instruction to the services to "ensure an adequate supply of hygiene products during deployment."

How can military leadership resolve the cognitive dissonance shown by gender activists who present themselves as saber-swinging "women warriors"—understood discursively or otherwise—but require an Equality Management Subcommittee to protect them from gender discrimination perpetuated by boorish buccaneers who engage in "sexist behavior" and make "crude and offensive remarks"? And when DACOWITS follows a recommendation to expand opportunities for women in combat with a recommendation that the secretary of defense start collecting data on "all violence against military women," should we assume that excludes violence they might encounter in combat?

While the debate over whether differences between men and women are biologically determined or socially constructed continues in the civilian world, the women of DACOWITS seem grudgingly reconciled to the idea that women are different. Their recommendations include a call for implementation of height, weight, and body fat standards that acknowledge gender differences. In a surprisingly girlish fashion, they call for "taking into account differences in body fat distribution" and plead with the Army to discontinue noting in the records when "the soldier" has run afoul of regulation 600-9—the Army Weight Control Program.

Yet despite their willingness to recognize that women differ from men in size, strength, health needs, and family demands, DACOWITS and its supporters refuse to acknowledge that those differences might be, in any way, detrimental to the imperatives of military readiness. They typically substitute desire and commitment for competence as qualifying factors in an arena where performance failure is unforgiving and often fatal. When McCall was asked by a reporter about the possibility of women serving in special forces units, she replied: "Women are as patriotic as their brothers."

This highlights what has become the primary item on the DACOWITS agenda: combat for women. Indeed, heading the recommendations for 2001 were DACOWITS' top three combat-oriented objectives: placement of women on submarines, opening Multiple Launch Rocket Systems to women, and the deployment of mixed-gender Special Operations Forces rotary wing aviation crews.

In fact, DACOWITS has been largely responsible for shoving women ever closer to combat. Their recommendations have pushed combat for women year after year. Although they operate only in an advisory capacity, their very existence, and persistence, have created a political gravitational pull in their direction that appears nearly irresistible. A window into how

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the pressure is applied and the system works: During the fall of 1993 and spring of the next year, DACOWITS called for the Army to open the Airborne's elite Pathfinder (first on the ground in the combat zone) training to women; when the army complied DACOWITS issued a "Statement of Appreciation."

Their biggest coup to date, however, came when DACOWITS issued a "recommendation" in 1993 that the secretary of defense "open combat aviation to women immediately."

How high did you say? One week later, Secretary Les Aspin ordered all of the service secretaries to begin integrating women into combat aircraft units. One year later, Aspin went further and narrowed the definition of "combat" so that women were no longer barred from serving in areas where "risk of capture" existed and are now excluded only from units that are clearly designed for direct land combat.

The Center for Military Readiness is reporting that even this barrier is being breached. An Army official, Lt. Col. Margaret Flott, head of the Women in the Army office, and liaison to DACOWITS, has tried to ensure that women train to serve in new Interim Brigade Combat Teams, which are light infantry "full spectrum combat forces" that the Army is developing. DACOWITS sees the military as simply another workplace plagued with garden-variety office politics, but offering unusual career opportunities. Feminists often argue that having women in combat is a necessary prerequisite to having a woman as president. The DACOWITS goal, McCall mused to reporter Shane Montgomery, is "to assure that the future that we want for our sons is also available for our daughters." Similarly, she commented to Kathleen Rhem of the American Forces Press Service, that "we have a military that gives women opportunities that they would not have in other countries."

DACOWITS partisans have approached the military as if it were a good ole boy law firm, or even an all-male country club. Retired Lt. Gen. Claudia Kennedy, herself an alleged victim of sexual harassment by a fellow general, began a speech to West Point cadets in 1997 by declaring, "This is not your father's army anymore." Indeed, women now comprise 15 percent of the United States military force.

Still, the battlefield is not exactly an OSHA-friendly environment. The reality of an exploding hand grenade or mortar round cannot be discursively redefined; death doesn't care about gender.

On the Army Physical Fitness Test, only about 3 percent of women score the same as the average male. One component of unit cohesion is the sure knowledge of every soldier that he will be cared for if wounded, and he will be carried home on someone's back if necessary. Elite unit tradition is that not even your dead body is left behind. This instills cohesion, camaraderie, and courage. But can male soldiers expect women to carry them to safety if injured? That kind of doubt itself impairs unit cohesion.

In the Summer 2001 issue of *Parameters*, the Army's War College quarterly, which is a peer-reviewed journal, Majors Kim Field and John Nagl argued that the discrepancy between male and female physical capabilities should not be an impediment to women serving in combat. They advance a "modest proposal": Set a high standard for combat qualifications and open it to all comers.

Elegant in its simplicity, their proposal ignores the political realities of a DACOWITS-ruled world. All of the services today use gender-normed physical fitness standards; even so, women still suffer injuries at a much higher rate than men and, in the wake of basic training, have a 50 percent first-year attrition rate, compared to the men's 30 percent. It costs $10,000 to recruit a soldier, so the attrition rate hurts. The report to Congress issued by the Blair Commission on Military Training and Gender-Related Issues noted that Army recruits are "required" to complete five of seven throws of a hand grenade. The last two throws must be of live grenades. However, if the recruits do not throw the practice grenades adequately, they may be excused from the live throws. Would that it were so in real combat.

Nevertheless, there are some women who could pass the physical standards under Field and Nagl's system. That is, of course, as long as they are not in need of those jazzy DACOWITS-inspired military-issue maternity uniforms. Field and Nagl, discounting this argument, report that at any one time, less than 1 percent of the Army is pregnant. However, they include in a footnote annual pregnancy rates for the various services from the Non-Deployable Personnel Report that range from 3 percent of Marine Corps officers, and 5 percent of Air Force officers, to as high as 12 percent of both officers and enlisted women in the Army, and 13.4 percent of Navy enlisted women. The Field/Nagl proposal would include a mandatory "birth control regime" as part of routine predeployment "immunizations."

It is this constant threat of sexual activity that has inspired the "no talk, no touch" doctrine the military now uses in basic training to attempt to contain sexual activity and eliminate sexual harassment. Feminists want women to experience the battlefield bond, yet expect that connection to be bounded and

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constrained by regulations about permissible contact.

Anna Simons, an anthropologist who teaches at the Naval Postgraduate School, argues that sexual tension is an immutable dynamic between men and women, and offers an alternative to Field and Nagl's view in the same issue of *Parameters*. Simons, the wife of a former Green Beret, reports that "women automatically alter the chemistry in all-male groups." As she acutely notes, the biggest factor women-in-combat advocates choose to ignore is that if there is one unifying experience all heterosexual men share, it is "a graphic fascination with women." Putting the object of that intense interest in their midst and then saying, "Don't touch!" is an approach doomed to failure.

Simons argues lust is a grave threat but that "love may actually be worse. Love rearranges loyalty. The good of the group shrinks to two." Or, in some cases, only one: Love bears all things; love risks all things—for the good of the loved one. All things that is, except the loved one's life. But in combat, that's precisely what's on the line.

In the end, among the well-worn statistics about strength, and the debates about sex, the issue comes down to this: Is there something intrinsically different about women that is worth protecting from combat? Not just for women themselves, but for the greater good of American society? Simons argues that it isn't just women's presence on the battlefield that is the problem, it is the lack of their absence that is so mortally wounding to our ideals. Combat involves cold-blooded killing, an act that threatens the soldier's humanity. "When absent," argues Simons, "what [women] evoke includes home, family, the future, and everything that's worth fighting for—nonviolence especially."

As this article is being written, the news from Afghanistan includes more American casualties, a painful reminder that the military is neither a law firm nor a country club to be integrated. By missing this distinction, DACOWITS should be dishonorably discharged because of military necessity. ◆

Charmaine Yoest is a Bradley Fellow at the University of Virginia in the Department of Government, and Jack Yoest, a former Army captain in the Armored Cavalry, is a management consultant.

A Peace of My Mind

Dave Shiflett takes on bellicose pacifists.

HAVE YOU SLAPPED a pacifist today? If not, get to it. It's one thing to protest a war undertaken in some remote jungle you have to take a long flight to, and whose purposes may be a bit gauzy. It's quite another when the enemy is dive-bombing New York and Washington. The fact that our enemies are determined to return the world to the seventh century and force our women to dress in sacks makes the anti-war position all the more controversial. There seems little choice but to douse these people with the hot oil of ridicule.

At the outset, it should be pointed out that these contemporary pacifists are not cut from the same cloth as history's grand Mahatmas, whose neutrality may have sometimes been in error but who were people of large and often courageous spirit. They took the tough pathway toward their High Ideals and would follow their principles into the jailhouse and perhaps into the grave. One would feel very bad about training the water cannon on them.

Not so the new breed, which appears to be largely made up of self-absorbed snots. When the heat shows up, they run. If they get jugged, they get someone to post bail, preferably on Daddy's AmEx card. Some do a bit of car-burning and looting on the side. They blossom most brilliantly in the spotlight, which they are forever seeking, and they hail from the expected provinces: Hollywood, the Ivy League,

Drawing by Yuri Kolyadenko

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the Ivory Tower, Trust Fund City. Many hold dual citizenship.

Worse yet, they insist on an intellectual superiority when in fact they fail to make even the simplest of distinctions. Soon after the September slaughters, for instance, 120 students and their masters walked out of classes at Brown University while chanting, "One, two, three, four, we don't want a racist war." This seems to suggest that we bombed the Taliban for reasons of wrap-around headwear, not because of complicity in the mass murder of several thousand Americans. These students seem to forget that America will most definitely bomb white people when required, as the survivors of numerous German cities can attest. Maybe the history department had to drop that sort of information in order to provide a full accounting of the Sioux Nation's central banking system.

THAT'S PROBABLY being too generous. Like brats immemorial, these people whine about everything, including a free meal. Brian Rainey (Brown, '04) complained that the humanitarian food drops "are ineffective and dangerous because of the ten million land mines in Afghanistan that the refugees have to cross to get to the food." Brian's braying is in stark contrast to reports on the ground, where one grateful recipient said after his meal that it was the first time he'd had a full belly in three years. One also notes a child's flair for dramatizing the mundane. Brown anti-war organizer Shaun Joseph ('02), for example, announced "We cannot simply go on with our daily routines as our country prosecutes an unjust war. Students are walking out in solidarity with the people of Afghanistan who must now suffer the double burden of a dictatorial regime and American bombs."

If they get jugged, they post bail on Daddy's AMEX card.

Give up the daily routine of a college student? Now there's some true heroism for you. As is well known, the daily routine of a college student includes twelve to fifteen hours of class per week, preferably between the hours of 11 A.M. and 3 in the afternoon, with plenty of time for afternoon snoozes, the ingestion of three parentally provided meals per day, and evenings spent in close vicinity to beer kegs, bongs, and, with any luck, classmates who have overcome the taboo against sleeping with dolts.

In the cause of fairness, it should be pointed out that some adults have joined this brigade. Richard Gere, the Hollywood idol and major fan of the mysterious Dalai Lama, was famously booed during the Concert for New York for expressing his pacifist views, views earlier summed up when he explained that the terrorists "are creating such horrible future lives for themselves because of the negativity of this karma." While that passage suggests recognition that mass murder might be counted on to attract a visit from a squadron of B-52s, Gere quickly fell into a fit of School Nurse pap: "If you can, see them [the terrorists] as a relative who's dangerously sick and we have to give them medicine, and the medicine is love and compassion. There's nothing better."

Well, not quite. Many of us will prefer the response this hokum drew from Sir Elton John, the aging pop crooner. "Forget the f—-ing Dalai Lama," Sir Elton wisely counseled: "The Dalai Lama is all about, supposedly, peace. Now, I love the idea of that. We all would love to have peace. But you know, in times of war and times of aggravation, where is this peacemaking man when you need him? F—-ing nowhere to be seen." Sir Elton, who refers to the Taliban as "the Anti-Christ," appears to be a fan of the B-52 solution. "I'm not a Bush supporter, but I wouldn't have wanted to be in his shoes for all the money in China."

As has been pointed out elsewhere, some of the Taliban's positions find resonance among various groups of Americans, and not only those who sit on the Berkeley City Council (which hiked its collective leg on the war effort). Many Americans believe, especially after a visit to the beach, that some degree of sack-wearing would represent a substantial public gain. Others find something to support in the Taliban's environmental policies, which include the full embrace of ox-cart and horseback technology instead of total reliance on the internal combustion engine. MADD will appreciate their allied policy of no drinking and driving and, in fact, no drinking at all. The regime has also embraced a no-MTV policy which many of us would like to institute in our own homes—though its success appears to be based on a promise that violators will have their eyes gouged.

The central fact, however, is that our enemies sit on the other side of the world devising ways to kill us in our offices and homes. If my college kid didn't support blowing those people up, he'd have to sleep outside with the dog when he came home for a visit. It would be my expectation that the dog would not put up with it. ◆

Dave Shiflett is a writer living in Midlothian, Virginia.

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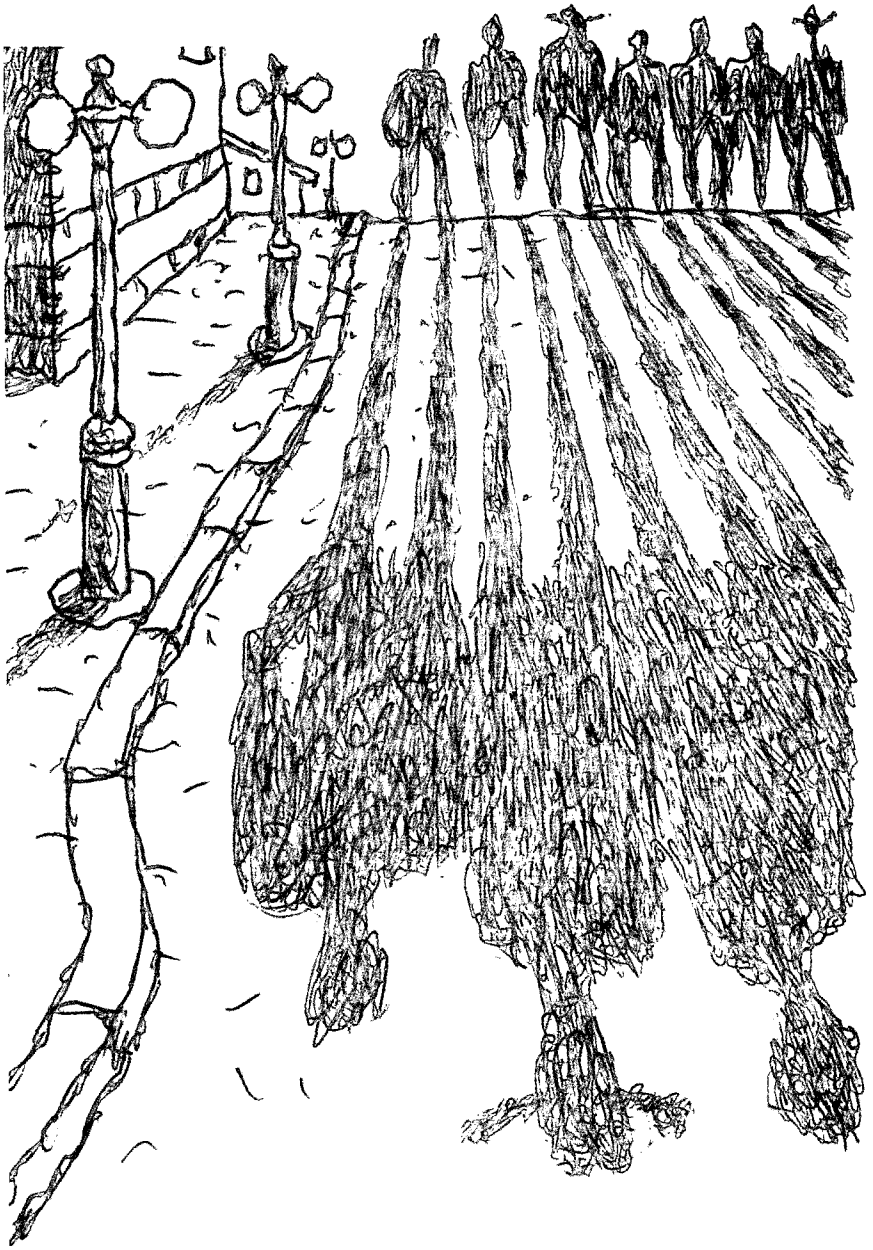
Return of the Guy

Men were pronounced economically and evolutionarily finished in the late 1990s. But *Charlotte Allen* says that manhood is back in fashion.



Remember Brenda Berkman? You probably don't, unless you're a hard-line feminist or you live in New York City. In 1978 or thereabouts, Berkman filed a class-action sex discrimination lawsuit against the New York Fire Department, complaining that she and several other women couldn't pass the physical fitness section of the city's employment examination for aspiring firefighters. In 1982, in response to Berkman's suit, a federal judge ordered the city to lower the physical standards, and Berkman and about forty other women who were now able to pass the new and easier test went ahead with their firefighting training. The overwhelming majority of them dropped out, deciding that they didn't really want to be New York City firefighters after all. Since 1982, the city's graduating classes for firefighters have contained only one or two women each and, out of a force of about eleven thousand, there are currently fewer than thirty women.

After her hire, Berkman and some of her cohorts engaged in nearly two decades of guerrilla warfare against their male coworkers. The women charged that the men were committing a catalogue of horrors and hate crimes against them, including rape, tire-slashing, death threats, tear-gas assaults, urinating into women's boots, and leaving a female firefighter alone in a burning house. None of these charges quite made it to the courts, or even to the serious union administrative stage. But they were reported in rich and credulous detail by feminist journalists and historians (one of them called physical fitness a "social construct"), and Berkman became a heroine on the websites of the National Organization for Women and groups of that ilk. She also became something of a political activist, snagging an appointment as a White

Drawing by Yuri Kolyadenko

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We want our firefighters to be able to carry victims out of harm's way in their arms if need be, and our soldiers to be able to go hand to hand against a murderous enemy. Sorry, but sometimes, perhaps most of the time, those are jobs that only a guy can do.

House fellow during the Clinton years, and last summer she publicly backed Democrat Mark Green's unsuccessful candidacy for mayor of New York.

Then this thing called September 11 happened. The World Trade Center towers were bombed into twin incinerators of carnage, suffering, and rubble. New York City firefighters were suddenly everywhere on the scene and in the public consciousness. Make that fire*men*. Firemen lost their lives by the hundreds, including Fire Chief Pete Ganci; they hurled themselves into the flames and smoke and collapsing steel girders to pull out the dazed living; they slept in their clothes for a few hours in nearby buildings, when they got any sleep at all. We will never forget the photos of them: the brawny young man in his helmet carrying the wounded young woman in his arms; the grizzled, mustachioed veteran fireman pausing a moment to peer up at an American flag that someone had planted at the site. These men were heroes, and even the worldly *New Yorker* magazine devoted several covers to honoring them.

To her credit, Brenda Berkman, now a lieutenant stationed at a lower Manhattan firehouse, worked herself to exhaustion side by side with the men in the aftermath of the bombing. And guess what—there were no complaints from her about harassment or opposition to affirmative action or social constructs. There was only camaraderie: "I want to make sure everyone knows how grateful I am" for the public's support of the New York firefighters, male and female, she told a feminist news service a few days later. Her personal website quietly disappeared from the Internet.

In the furnaces of September 11, there was suddenly forged a new social trend: the return of the guy. (Remember that it was four *guys* who rushed the terrorists who commandeered United Airlines Flight 93, wrenching it to the ground near Pittsburgh.) This trend was continued in the war against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. No one, even NOW, was heard to gripe that there were no women reported among the U.S. Special Forces troops fighting hand to hand with militant supporters of Osama bin Laden during the days after the Taliban fled Kabul. "For the first time in a long time, American heroes are not movie actors or sports figures or celebrity scandal-survivors," political commentator Andrew Sullivan wrote in the *Sunday Times* of London. "They are cops and firemen and special forces soldiers." Their sex is male, and they do the kind of work that calls on specifically male attributes and virtues: physical strength, tough fatherly leadership (think of Rudolph Giuliani), brotherly bonding into fighting units, courage, and blunt compassion. Welcome back, guys.

For decades, even before the rise of the radical feminist revolution during the late 1960s, scholars and pundits alike had been tracking and often bemoaning what they viewed as the increasing obsolescence of the male of the human species. As early as the 1950s, sociologist David Riesman (*The Lonely Crowd*) and urbanologist William Hollingsworth Whyte (*The Organization Man*) worried that the rugged and tight-lipped individualism that had been the hallmark of American manhood from the Revolution through World War II seemed to be dissolving into bland suburban conformity and that men's loyalties seemed to be shifting to faceless, goal-less, amorphous business organizations rather than self and immediate family.

When the women's movement came along a decade later, Gloria Steinem famously deemed the male sex utterly useless: "A woman needs a man like a fish needs a bicycle." Other feminist theorists condemned marriage as female enslavement and pronounced the presence of a father in the household as unnecessary at best and oppressive and abusively "patriarchal" at worst. They preached divorce as liberation.

Even conservative social theorists

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who supported the traditional family tended to agree that, as the basis of America's economy shifted during the twentieth century, first away from hard outdoor work in agriculture and then away from hard indoor work in factories, to service industries and desk jobs calling on mental skills that women could supply as well as men, there were likely to be fewer and fewer places for men who weren't especially intellectual to vent their natural male aggression and use their natural male physical strengths constructively. This idea was helped along by the sociobiologists of the 1970s and the evolutionary psychologists of the 1990s, who pointed to plenty of examples in the animal kingdom of male species whose sole function in life was to impregnate as many females as possible as quickly as possible and then be killed off as superfluous eaters, either by the female herself or by stronger rival males.

MEANWHILE, the overwhelmingly male U.S. prison population soared, perhaps proving the evolutionary psychologists right about men's dysfunctionality in a postindustrial age. The high-tech revolution further reduced any premium that could be attached to physical prowess. By the 1990s, even George Gilder, although loathed by feminists for his hearty defense of marriage and traditional family structures, celebrated the emergence of the "nerd," the desk-bound brain-box with an engineering degree whose ingenuity and long hours in his cubicle would usher in decades of unprecedented silicon-based prosperity. There didn't seem to be much room in this setup for brawny jocks who weren't MIT material.

By the mid-1990s, some liberal pundits were shedding crocodile tears over the "angry white males" marginalized by and entrapped in a "backlash" against the affirmative action schemes, represented by the likes of Brenda Berkman, that had displaced them with females and members of minority groups. Other pundits were worrying about the nation's mostly male military personnel, isolated on their bases with no wars to fight and cultivating a culture alien to (that is to say, a culture based on traditional values of courage and honor) the presumed mainstream of college professors, soccer moms, and word-processing coordinators.

The nadir for guys in American society undoubtedly came in 1999. That year, the radical feminist Susan Faludi and Rutgers anthropologist Lionel Tiger both published books (*Stiffed* for Faludi, *The Decline of Males* for Tiger), that arrived at exactly the same conclusion: Men were economically and evolutionarily through. Tiger mourned that men were becoming "outlaws, not in-laws,"—fixated on violence, pornography, and sports—because their opportunities for constructive group bonding in male-privileging economic organizations had waned with the rise of affirmative action. Faludi focused on former blue-collar guys similarly disoriented by capitalism-prompted masculine false consciousness who now had to eke out pathetic livings and avocations as X-rated film studs, gun nuts, and cadets at such bizarre single-sex institutions as—horrors!—the Citadel. Completing this dismal *fin de siècle* picture was Francis Fukuyama's *The Great Disruption*, another 1999 book, which pronounced with end-of-history certainty that the high-tech revolution and the takeover by women of the work force were, well, forever. The "crisis of masculinity"—that was a 1999 buzz-phrase.

Now, after September 11, we are all changed, and all this, like so many other confident predictions of the future, has ended. We don't hear much about angry white males these days, or the supposedly alienated military. One of the best pieces of news comes from the U.S. Justice Department. In early October, just a few weeks after the terrorist attack, the department abruptly announced that it was dropping its support of a four-year-old sex-discrimination lawsuit brought by women who claimed that a running test for Philadelphia's transit police was unfair to female applicants.

THE TRANSIT AUTHORITY requires its officers to be able to run a mile and a half in twelve minutes—essential for chasing suspects up and down subway steps. Yes. We want them to be in top shape in order to halt and deter underground crime. We want our firefighters to be able to carry victims out of harm's way in their arms if need be, and our soldiers to be able to go hand to hand against a murderous enemy.

Sorry, Brenda Berkman (and we appreciate your efforts on September 11), but sometimes, perhaps most of the time, those are jobs that only a guy can do, and if we lower our standards because some women may feel bad about not living up to them, it is going to cost lives. It took an act of monstrous criminality to show us this, but we now know that the crisis of masculinity is over and some of the worst excesses of affirmative action may be over. We've come to appreciate that there's nothing like a guy. ◆

Charlotte Allen is a writer living in Washington, D.C.

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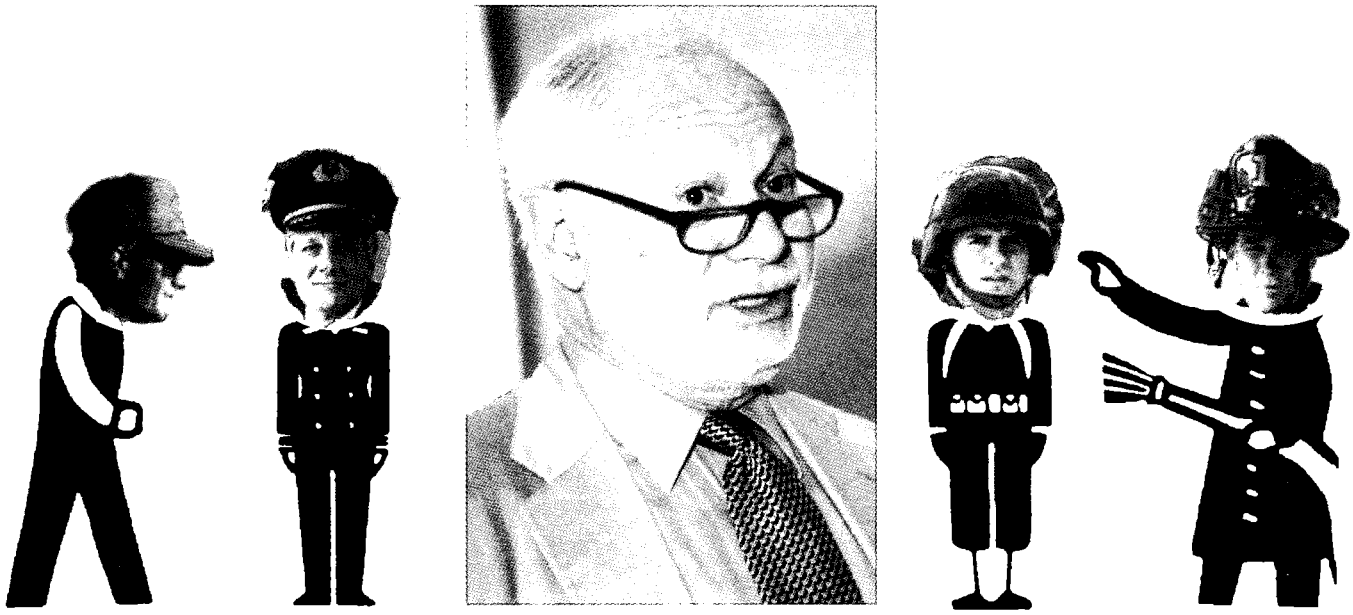
Interview

Lionel Tiger

Is manliness really back in favor? *TWQ* Editor ***Charlotte Hays*** poses the question to Rutgers University anthropologist ***Lionel Tiger***, author of the ground-breaking *The Decline of Males.*



TWQ: *Many people have said that since the attacks of September 11 masculinity is making a comeback. Can you comment on this?*

TIGER: It's very hard to discern because we are talking about what is really a microscopic period of time. But there's certainly no question that, if nothing else, the people who have been doing the burly guy jobs have reason for enhanced self-esteem (a term I hate), because people now clearly realize that what these men do is not only essential but dangerous. For the moment, the claim that women should be on the front lines and go into battle has subsided. Whether this will affect the reigning orthodoxy in the universities or the social worker mentality that seeks to use the government to change behavior in fundamental ways is another question.

TWQ: *Proponents of women in combat may not want to admit that women would be at a disadvantage if fighting hand to hand against stronger men.*

TIGER: Right, and they would lose, particularly if they were fighting the kind of ground war our special forces have been engaged in in Afghanistan. Not only would they lose, but, as the Israelis have found, if you put women in a situation like that, the men around them tend to become twice as brave and twice as reckless in order to protect them. Moreover, judging from what a lot of women in the military have said, they don't really want to be there. Women understand completely that they can do many things that are not on the front lines but are nevertheless very important.

For example, about a fifth of the officers in the Air Force are women and they serve many important functions. That's different from saying that everyone has to be able to do everything the same way equally—even if they can't.

 Photo by Lyndon George

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For example, of the 343 firefighters killed in New York, every single one of them was a man. And I'm told informally that of the some twenty-odd women in the fire department, a percentage of them, maybe as many as a half, are there as a result of a special deal so as to have some token women in the department. Some have obviously made the grade on their own. But, in general, the scuttlebutt is that they're called firewatchers.

I'm also told that more people now want to join the CIA and ROTC, which are no longer vilified. I think there's a new and genuine understanding that the tissue of life is frail, that it can be threatened and it was threatened and it probably will be threatened again. Those people who are prepared to interpose themselves between us and danger are valuable and we should treat them differently.

What has this to do with masculinity? Well, I think almost invariably or necessarily, this will affect how men and women choose their mates. Will this also affect the kind of politicians the public wants? Will this affect the role models (another phrase I hate) that men and women choose to define the desirable male? It'll probably have some effect, but to be realistic, what could it do? We may recruit more for the military. Certainly there will be more security personnel and, in that sense, there will be a greater masculine tinge to the overall population. But will it affect the solid body of employment or the social structure? I'm not sure.

GI Joe is back in favor with good reason. After this Afghani business, we'll see more of our fighting men coming home, and we'll celebrate what they did. And this will affect our kids.

TWQ: *What else would have to happen to restore masculinity?*

TIGER: I think one factor would have to be a different assumption about marriage. Marriage is not simply a question of feelings and emotional self-expression and all of those semi-narcissistic features of current heterosexual relationships, or even homosexual ones. There needs to be an understanding that marriage requires people able to tough it out, as the ceremony says, in sickness and in health, etc. There must be an understanding that economic exchange is at the heart of it. I think a lot of people realize that, in general, women like to marry males who have slightly higher incomes than they do. And that's because, whether they articulate it or not, they perceive that they will be out of the labor force on an average of five to seven years. As a result, they need some extra money while they're raising children. From that point of view they look for a good provider.

Every study we've ever seen of what women want and what men want is based on the fairly accurate notion that women look for resources and men look for fertility. In men it usually takes the form of what is seen as beauty, on one hand, or sexual exploitation, on the other. Nonetheless, it has to do with nurturing, the physical, and the expectation that a female will be fertile. It's never articulated that way.

If we look at what people search for in mates, we see that men are very interested in the female complexion. They don't know it but it's probably because complexion is, in fact, a very good indicator of health and hence possible fertility. It's small wonder that women spend immense amounts of money on carbon derivatives, which they put on their faces. That's one side of it; on the other side, women look to men who will be able to provide them decent lives and are reliable.

There's some intriguing material coming out of various studies being done in Austria and Germany, which are tentative as yet, but they're revealing. It turns out that when women are ovulating, they tend to choose men who are good providers. And, believe it or not, this can be done by sniffing T-shirts men have been wearing. It sounds creepy but women can, through smell, identify men who are healthy and likely to be robust providers. In the infertile parts of their menstrual cycle, they chose the T-shirts of he-men who will bounce them around and walk off after they've had sex with them—you know, completely undesirable men.

It sounds creepy, but women can, through smell, identify men who are healthy and likely to be robust providers.

There seems to me to be a pattern here that's very deep, inasmuch as women have been told by feminists that they shouldn't need men—that they have to be independent. Given the divorce rate and everything else, woman may choose men who are not desirable from the protective point of view because they think they don't need them. They may want them, but they don't need them and this is new

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in human history. It is really completely new to have so many women able to support themselves effectively.

TWQ: *What do you see as impediments to the revival of the male?*

TIGER: Paternity testing. Now with DNA you can do that, which makes the male financially responsible—and takes the load off the government as well. But, I gather from talking with students, this leads them to figure out ever more inventive ways not to have genital sex. The guys don't want to have an eighteen-year bill. And this is clearly one of the reasons for the far greater openness and apparent incidence of oral sex. This is an interesting phenomenon.

How will it affect men? They'll likely become far more suspicious of women, far more guarded. The impact could be greater than that of the Pill. The Pill, of course, allowed people to get together. DNA testing may keep them apart.

TWQ: *You wrote a celebrated article on Slate.com, "Osama bin Laden's Man Trouble." How does he get so many young men to commit themselves to a potentially suicidal path?*

TIGER: It's apparently quite a complex process. For one thing, they are separated from their families. The talented ones at the age of five or six go off to these schools where they learn nothing but the Koran, which, by the way, a lot of them read in a language they don't understand because the Koran is hardly ever translated. And so they're simply memorizing this text which is based on the belief in the great desirability of the religion, as well as the great undesirability of infidels. They're watched very, very carefully, and then they are groomed for, as it were, higher things. Then, if they're to be on the A team, if they're going to be suicide bombers, they go through yet more careful observation. They're put in groups that have only one or two of the prime-time guys, those who will go and do the dirty work; but there are a few others around who are kind of bridesmaids, who make sure that the A team is in order and boost them up if things get rough. They probably find at a certain point that they have no shred of self left beyond what comes out of that group.

The Pill allowed people to get together. DNA testing may keep them apart.

TWQ: *In this piece, you also talked about the intensity of male bonding and the fact that because of polygamy many will not have the opportunity to marry.*

TIGER: First of all, in Saudi Arabia I believe there are 115 men to 100 women, for a start. Then the most desirable women, or those that are defined as desirable, are picked up by the potentates of the community. For example, Osama has four wives. This makes the situation that much more difficult. These angry young men have no sexual access or possibilities, can't do what normal organisms want to do—which is reproduce. They also can't produce because there are no jobs, and so they are pushed into what is clearly a sort of unendurable reality, which they transcend by believing in an utterly absurd notion of heaven. They do this through male encounter because females are breaking up that old terrorist gang of theirs. So, they get male bonded to a fare-thee-well.

TWQ: *Explain what you mean when you say females are breaking up the terrorist gang.*

TIGER: There's an interesting story that I was told by a student. The Palestinians had a group called Black September. These were the boys who did the Munich killings at the Olympics and they were really bad people. Well, at some point the leaders of this group realized that these fellows were simply too dangerous to keep in their ranks, because they had been trained to kill and do little else. So what they did was to find some attractive Spanish women to marry them. The idea was that they would have several kids and then they would no longer be quite so willing to take on murderous tasks.

So, to the extent that these kids are outlaws, not in-laws, then they're of course much more likely to be susceptible to these appeals. One of the things that culture has to do is to permit women to discipline males adequately so that they do not trouble the rest of us.

TWQ: *Obviously, all civilized people loathe the way the Taliban treated women. But we're involved in a war and yet the focus seems to be on women. Is this the feminization of war?*

TIGER: I think it's because the people who run feminist organizations have the mortgage payment to meet next month and they have no other song. They've got a good gig and even Laura Bush has weighed on the issue of women in Afghanistan. And you're absolutely right—there's some effort to turn this into a feminist crusade. But the plight of women there does invite compassion. It will be interesting to see if the same thing happens should there be war in Iran where, for example, the women have had much more complex lives. But politicians and ideologues are opportunistic, and this is a great ready-made case for them. ◆

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The Token Man

Float Like a Butterfly, Hug Like a Woman

Evan Gahr cannot embrace the trend of men hugging men.

In the 1970s, they fought like men. At their next meeting, Muhammad Ali and Joe Frazier plan to hug like women.

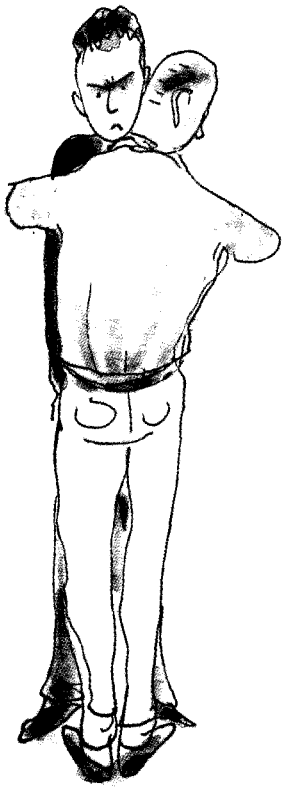
Until last year, Joe Frazier had never quite forgiven Ali for Borking him outside the ring. On the thirtieth anniversary of their 1971 fight at Madison Square Garden, however, Frazier suggested the two heavyweight giants publicly bury the hatchet—with a hug. Ali welcomed the olive branch. Float like a butterfly, sting like a bee, and now hug like a woman?

Like a true man, Ali conceded his mistakes. To promote their fights, the champ explained to the *New York Times*, he had called Frazier an Uncle Tom and even likened him to a gorilla. It was nothing personal. But he was sorry. So far, so good. Alas, then the champ even volunteered to hug Frazier if his former antagonist so desired.

The hug has not yet happened, according to a database search. At least Ali and Frazier have a good excuse to hug. As for other guys—even the manliest of men, the types who wouldn't dare drink a wine cooler in public, let alone ask for driving directions in the middle of the Siberian wilderness—they now hug like sorority sisters. Score another victory for our touchy-feely culture.

Everywhere you look—from football fields to party conventions—men are hugging men. The hug has replaced the handshake. These two forms of greeting could not be more different. When days were old and knights were bold, men shook hands to ensure neither carried a weapon. Now when a guy meets or greets another guy the only bodily harm he risks is a cracked rib from a bear hug.

Unlike writing with pink magic markers, there is nothing inherently unmanly about one man hugging another. Just the opposite: A real man can show his feelings in public, at the appropriate moment. The key word is moment, not every minute.



When did this unfortunate trend start? More recently than you may think. One political activist recalled that in the mid-1960s, senators generally didn't grope each other. A group of southern senators did hug each other. But this was clearly an alternative lifestyle. The no-touching policy continued throughout the Reagan and Bush administrations.

Enter Bubba. Hugs galore. Robert Reich, the diminutive intellectual giant of the Clinton administration, recalls in his memoir how President Clinton was always embracing him. Like so many other Clintonesque obsessions, such as "diversity," male-on-male hugging soon infested GOP and conservative circles as well.

Hugs should be reserved for special occasions. I generally hug another man about every two or three years. In 1992, I hugged my friend from summer camp at his wedding. The next hug was in 1995, just days before I left Washington for a new job in New York City. The hug was initiated by my journalism mentor. He hugged me to express delight over my having landed a newspaper job.

Both men I've seen quite a few times since then. We shook hands. Maybe this is just a family trait. We male Gahrs are neither huggers nor hugees. Keep your hands off us, please.

In 1999, my sister brought her then-boyfriend to a family dinner so he could officially meet the folks. Quite the '90s guy, he ended the evening by hugging my father. Big mistake. My father grew up admiring the likes of John Wayne, not Alan Alda. He recoiled with horror and shock.

Flash forward one year: Boyfriend has just become brother-in-law. At the wedding I delivered to the guests a sweet and funny speech welcoming him into the family. Afterwards, we hugged, in plain view of the guests, the videographer, and my father. "You see, he didn't hug me," my father later said with uncharacteristic smugness. Still, the embrace was appropriate for the moment. But no more hugs until he makes me an uncle. ◆

Evan Gahr is an adjunct scholar at the Center for Equal Opportunity.

Drawing by Sandy McClelland

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Menopause Envy

Not all guys were changed by September 11. *Sally L. Satel, M.D.,* reports that some men are getting the vapors.

16 *Drawing by Dusan Petricic*

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"I BECAME incredibly moody —well, irritable, really— and would behave in a way most unlike me, flying off the handle at the least provocation. I lost most of my libido and had hot flashes. Flushing of my face occurred at random, but especially at night, leaving the bed and me drenched in sweat and hot and cold at the same time."

We all know the symptoms, but this time there's a twist: The sufferer has a Y chromosome. Jed Diamond, a social worker and men's health expert, insists that more than twenty-five million men in the U.S. between the ages of forty and fifty-five are now going through male menopause.

Diamond argues in his best-selling book *Male Menopause*, a Book-of-the-Month Club selection, that "male menopause is as natural as puberty and impossible to ignore." He notes that some men are even taking hormone replacement (in the form of testosterone patches) to fine-tune what he calls the "Hormonal Symphony of Men."

Fiercely defending their taxonomic turf, Diamond and other proponents of male menopause are careful to distinguish it from the garden-variety midlife crisis that often leads to the purchase of a zippy little sports car or the end of a marriage. Male menopause, they insist, is a genuine physiological change as real as that endured by every fertile woman since Eve who has lived past fifty.

Is masculine "change-of-life" real or is it a pseudo-scientific way to explain away flagging performances in the boardroom or bedroom? Most likely, it's a bad case of, well... menopause envy. Women, after all, have radically altered the way they view "the change." No longer merely a prelude to old age, infirmity, and asexuality, it is a pathway to enlightenment, a positive transformation in the life cycle.

A recent book celebrating female menopause is *The Wisdom of Menopause* by physician Christiane Northrup. Northrup calls menopause the "greatest opportunity for growth since adolescence." Instead of a time of loss, the "real message [women's] bodies are sending: This is a time of personal empowerment and positive energy." Gail Sheehy, in *Menopause: The Silent Passage*, dubs it one of the three great "blood mysteries" (along with menarche and pregnancy) that demarcate a woman's inner life.

Women are taking an inevitable physiological event and endowing it with the potential for personal growth. Some of us might cringe at the treacly self-involvement and New Age blood-mystery overtones that women like Northrup and Sheehy bring to this, but on balance, it's healthier than hand-wringing over the waning of one's seductive and reproductive powers. But is menopause now so much fun that men want to get in on the action?

Menopause envy may actually be rooted in the Men's Movement of the 1990s—which was born of a desire to reclaim manhood. Its standard bearer was Iron John, the fictional creation of poet Robert Bly, author of the 1990 bestseller *Iron John: A Book About Men.* Bly famously urged men to get in touch with their "inner warriors" and "wild men." His retreats led thousands of men into the woods where they chanted, danced, drummed, and ritually sweated far into the night.

A true warrior would not go through "the change"—at the very least he'd be damned to admit it—but a weeping one might. The paradox of Bly's movement was that it used feminized means —emoting in groups—to release the inner warrior. "A man needs a place where he can spill his guts about his life and fears, where he can get away from ideas like 'big boys don't cry' and where he can get in touch with his pain," griped an electrical equipment salesman to the *Los Angeles Times.* "Being a macho man is a very isolating, painful experience," said Corbett Phipps, a therapist in Ventura County, California. Writes Sam Keen, author of *Fire in the Belly: On Being a Man,* another hit movement book, "Sensitive men have finally, after twenty-five years, begun to hear what the women's movement is all about."

When you consider the marketing angle, the weeping warrior was a stroke of genius: a book for men that appealed to women who buy books for men. It also inspired other books with such titles as *King, Warrior, Magician, Lover; The Code of the Warrior; Knights without Armor.*

FROM A STRICT biological standpoint, the analogy to the female change-of-life does not hold up. Female menopause refers to ovarian failure. At about age fifty-five, the average woman stops producing a monthly egg and cannot conceive babies. Estrogen production continues but at a lower level. This is something that happens to every woman who lives long enough. In contrast, it is abnormal for men to experience complete testicular failure. That is, most men do not stop producing sperm.

True, the quality and quantity goes down, but even so, it is generally estimated that about half of all healthy seventy-five-year-old men can father children. While there is a progressive decline in testosterone levels as they grow older—a 1 percent decline yearly after age forty—in at least 75 percent of men, the levels stay above that needed for sexual function. The decline takes place gradually over decades

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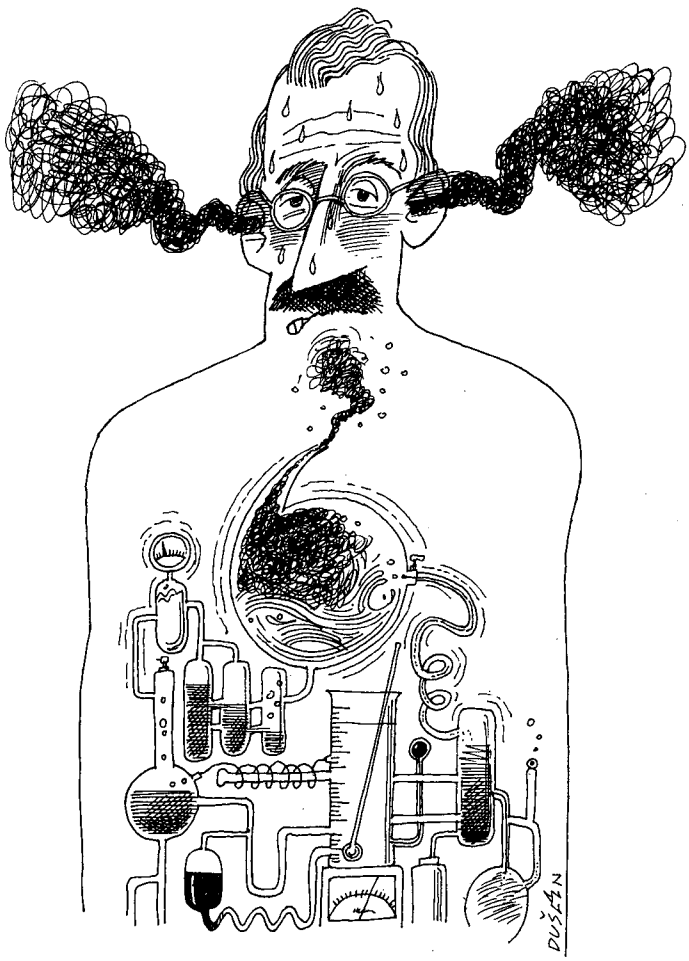
whereas a woman's estrogen production drops off precipitously over a few years. While estrogen falls in all women, variability between individual men is great and testosterone production by the testes remains at youthful levels in some elderly men. For the subgroup of men whose testosterone falls to unacceptable levels, hormone replacement is a standard therapy.

The first academic paper describing the "male climacteric" (a clinical name for male menopause; a more common one is "andropause") appeared in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in 1939. Five years later, a treatment study was published in the same journal. Male subjects with documented testicular failure (*i.e.*, accident, mumps, infection) had improved sexual vigor after being given testosterone; subjects with normal hormonal levels but poor potency did not improve when treated with testosterone.



Over Half a century later the medical community has not come to a consensus on whether the symptoms of andropause are truly a manifestation of testosterone deficiency. The controversy found its way into the pages of *U.S. News & World Report* ("Do Men Experience Menopause?") and the *Harvard Men's Health Watch* ("Is There a Male Menopause—and Will Hormones Help?"). Nicholas Burns-Cox and Clive Gingell of the Bristol Urological Institute in England claim that there is no convincing evidence that treatment with testosterone supplements alleviates problems of depression, fatigue, or diminished sex drive. Stress, not testosterone deficiency, often explains the waning of sexual interest and performance. To complicate matters, stress itself can suppress testosterone production. Moreover, they point out, the ill-defined constellation of symptoms (night sweats, irritability, insomnia) attributed to andropause in middle-aged or elderly men frequently occur in the presence of normal levels of testosterone.

Writing in a 1997 issue of the *Postgraduate Medical Journal*, the authors caution against using testosterone replacement in men who have the symptoms linked to male menopause but have normal levels of hormone. "Unlike the proven benefits of hormone replacement in women, the effects of testosterone supplementation are equivocal. It may increase sexual interest, but rarely to the level thought adequate by the patient. It has no proven benefit on erectile dysfunction and may stimulate subclinical prostate cancer."

Last year the *British Medical Journal* published a debate: "For and Against: The Male Menopause—Does it Exist?" In favor of its existence were two physicians from the WellMan Clinic in London, who emphasized the value of testosterone replacement for men who have low blood levels of the hormone. Against the notion was Howard S. Jacobs, emeritus professor of reproductive endocrinology at the Royal Free and University College School of Medicine in London. As far as sexual activity is concerned, Jacobs explained, the role of testosterone is still not well defined. In fact, testosterone in older men is usually well above the level needed for a normal sexual response in a young man. Furthermore, Jacobs points out, well over three-quarters of all cases of erectile dysfunction are linked to medical causes such as diabetes, atherosclerotic disease, and spinal injury. In many instances poor performance is a function of mechanical failure: Not enough blood gets into the penile tissues to produce an erection. By relaxing the muscle cells in the walls of the artery supplying blood to

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the penis, blood flows more easily. Therein lies the virtue of Viagra.

It is important to understand the physiology of sexual function—and it is, of course, far more complicated than the brief tutorial presented above—but one need only glance at the books by men's health gurus like Diamond, Dr. Malcolm Carruthers (author of *Maximizing Manhood*), or Dr. Eugene Shippen (author of the *Testosterone Syndrome*) to see that male menopause is about much more than hormones. "Besides a lack of sex drive," writes Carruthers, "there is often loss of drive in professional or business life; also often fatigue, lethargy, exhaustion, and depression with a sense of hopelessness and helplessness." Jed Diamond tips his hand: "Male menopause is the transition period that prepares us for life in the second half," he intones.

Yet another problem is that male menopause is an impossibly broad category, expanding to include even young men in their thirties. Virtually any man who complains of emotional ups and downs, existential angst, or a hankering for extramarital sex with twenty-three-year-old interns can qualify, it seems. Thus, male menopause is not a discrete clinical syndrome. Instead, it is a medicalized version of a developmental crisis—perhaps the infamous "midlife" event—in a man's life. Diamond's multipoint plan for dealing with it is evidence enough that a testosterone patch or a hit of Viagra won't do the trick. His prescriptions include "healing emotional wounds" and developing social and spiritual lives.

So why call it menopause, of all things, a term with such quintessentially female connotations? Could it be that the terminology reflects the tell-tale ambivalence about manhood, first challenged three decades ago by the feminist revolution?

A decade after Iron John beat the drum for virility, the feminization of male culture proceeds apace. The women's rights agenda still pushes for men to do half the housework and half the childcare. Harmless and playful workplace banter is subject to draconian speech codes and sexual harassment lawsuits. The military, police, and firefighting forces have undergone gender integration—often a healthy development, but not when it is enforced at the expense of readiness and effectiveness. Men are becoming as vain as women. A recent cover story in *New York* magazine described the "new breed of urban men clamoring for face peels." Manicures, male cosmetics, even face-lifts are more and more common. Male menopause? It was just a matter of time.

And what do red-blooded, steak-eating American men think of all this? In a nonscientific survey of ten male colleagues, I elicited the following opinions about the validity of male menopause: "Nope," "No," "Huh?" "Well, the plumbing sometimes needs repair but, you know, that's to be expected," "Aren't you really talking about a midlife crisis?" "I've heard that testosterone works for some men, so slap on a patch and stop whining," "I'm seventy-five, and, if I have undergone menopause, I didn't notice it," and, from a doctor colleague, "I hope so, because then we can charge for treating it."

Like my friends, most men, one would hope, will continue to endure aging without having to turn to bogus diagnoses for emotional support on their "journey." Iron John was bad enough. Change-of-life John is just too embarrassing. ◆

Sally L. Satel, M.D., is the author of PC, M.D.: How Political Correctness Is Corrupting Medicine.

Hot Flashes

The Independent Women's Forum announces a fun, provocative addition to its award-winning website ***www.iwf.org***: The daily ***Hot Flash,*** which features humorous outrages you don't want to miss.

For example, bet you didn't know about NOW's "Ground Zero Money Grab"—how the National Organization for Women's Legal Defense and Education Fund demanded its share of the $11 billion authorized by Congress for post-September 11 recovery efforts.

Log on to ***www.iwf.org*** for this lively new feature. And, while you're there, be sure to **sign up for IWF's email updates.**

Also, have you checked out the Independent Women's Forum's website for college students? The site is ***www.SheThinks.org*** and showcases a webzine written by and for college students who know they're *not* getting all sides of the debate. Forward it to your favorite student today! ◆

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What About Joan?

A fierce woman in combat? Medieval gender bender? *Sandra Miesel* has the inside scoop on Joan of Arc.

JOAN OF ARC is the one medieval figure everybody knows. But what they *acknowledge* varies wildly. To Shakespeare, Joan was a witch; to Shaw, a proto-Protestant; to Twain, a true saint in a godless universe. The poet Schiller and the composer Verdi added love interests to her story but left out death at the stake. Luc Besson portrayed her as a guilt-ridden hysteric in *The Messenger* (1999). Feminists embrace her as the heroic woman in the clutches of evil men who connive at her ruin.

How can one well-documented woman be the inspiration for so many legends? Don't we all know that Jeanne d'Arc, the Maid of Orleans, was a simple shepherdess called by God to save France from the English? Captured by her enemies and burned as a witch, she became a saint. On closer inspection, however, even this most traditionalist reading of Joan of Arc turns out to have distortions.

For starters, Joan the humble shepherdess is a romantic fancy. This daughter of prosperous peasants seldom watched sheep. But from the beginning, Joan's admirers liked the pastoral myth with its obvious comparison to the biblical David called from his flocks to save his people. Marina Warner, Joan's principal feminist historian, disparages this image of the simple maid with her simple sheep in her 1981 book *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism.* In a review of Warner's book in *Newsweek*, Jean Strouse noted that Joan is "a cultural Rorschach test: Each age sees her in the light of its own moral preoccupations."

Warner seems to see Joan through the prism of a class in myth and symbol. The book, according to a description on the website of the University of California Press, "takes note of her historical antecedents, both pagan and Christian, and the role she has played up to the present as the embodiment of an ideal, whether as Amazon, saint, child of nature, or personification of virtue." Warner's primary interest is in seeing Joan as a heroic woman but one sadly forced to increase her status through wearing male garb.

Joan's "voices" have been controversial since her own day. She began hearing them in her thirteenth year when they urged her to preserve her virginity; four years later they led her on to her military destiny. Viewing these experiences as delusions, Warner interprets them with a distinctly feminist twist, connecting their emergence to puberty (never mind that menarche occurred later then).

Novelist Mary Gordon is author of *Joan of Arc*, one of the mini-biographies of famous people by prominent writers commissioned by the publishing firm Weidenfeld & Nicholson. Gordon sees through the lens of gender studies: Joan "stands alone in our imagination for the single-minded triumph of the she—and it must be a she—who feared nothing, knew herself right, and the chosen of God." Less scholarly than Warner, Gordon finds the Maid's spirituality—expressed in less florid imagery than many mystics—not up to snuff.

Hinting that Joan's voices were imagined, Gordon does acknowledge that Joan sincerely believed herself inspired

Illustrations are, from left, military Joan's statue in Reims, romantic Joan by Jules Bastien-Lepage, dramatic Joan as portrayed onscreen by Ingrid Bergman, and fashion-hound Joan in a costume design for "Saint Joan" by George Bernard Shaw.

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by God. Gordon interprets the voices as an aspect of power politics: "The assumption of the mantle of prophecy was one of the few ways by which medieval women could speak with public authority, certain of being listened to."

Still, it took unshakable confidence for Joan to get a hearing. In 1429, Joan presented herself to the embattled dauphin as the virgin deliverer of France. She persuaded him to accept her, possibly by assuring him that his claim on the throne was legitimate or through a vision of his crown to come.

Reams have been written about Joan's sexuality. In *The Messenger*, this linchpin of her psyche originates in the horrific rape of her sister—an event that never happened. To the medieval mind, it was a religious issue: The still-sealed body of a woman was packed with mystic power.

Warner regards Joan's innocence as a shortcoming—a rejection of Life. Though grudgingly accepting Joan's chastity, Warner scorns the medical validity of the virginity tests performed on Joan—Warner doesn't think backward medieval matrons knew how to find a hymen.

But Joan's virginity was essential to her mission. Her battle comrades had no doubt that it was important: They later testified that her resolute purity stilled their lusts. Gordon snipes that the effect of Joan's purity didn't last—the soldiers were known to backslide once they lost their gal-pal in arms.

It is interesting to note that Joan is the only saint on record who unrepentantly loved fine clothes—no hairshirts for her. She wore silk, velvet, fur, and cloth-of-gold. Her enemies cried "vanity," and so does Warner, who, like the judges at Joan's trial, calls her a "fop." Yet beyond private preference, Joan's rich garments were part of her charismatic public image. Mere plain dress wouldn't have had the same impact on a medieval audience.

Her masculine attire is as attention-getting as her virginity. On embarking for the dauphin's court, Joan traded her red gown of peasant homespun for elite male garb. Acceptance by royalty brought her an expensive suit of custom-made armor, white because fashioned of unvarnished metal.

Joan's "cross-dressing" has been variously interpreted. Past times saw her embodying the ancient notion of the virile woman who transcends the weakness of her sex, or an allegorical Virtue come to life, or else a valiant Amazon. Women in men's clothing otherwise seemed to violate biblical injunctions. Joan's assumption of male garb has been defended as simple practicality. She couldn't have fought in skirts (although later artists primly added them under the armor).

But this isn't a sufficient explanation. Joan clung to men's clothing in stubborn loyalty to her voices, which she said decreed her dress. She wore masculine attire off-duty, even when ordered to change; the doublet was her uniform. It would also be her doom.

Warner and Gordon offer fashionable feminist theories on gender bending. Warner says that male garments let Joan abrogate the destiny of womankind. She applauds Joan for androgyny, for proclaiming herself "not-female," but regrets that this took the form of "privileging" male attire, "accepting their appearance in order to usurp their function." Warner also sees wearing men's clothes as Joan's refusal to grow up and accept adult sexuality.

To Gordon, Joan was "a boy/girl

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on horseback," one who simply had a strong desire to wear men's clothes—as though her mission was to let secret impulses out of the closet. Her shocking attire was the sign of her selfhood.

Warner rejects the rumor that Joan was a lesbian, but Gordon intimates that because Joan preferred to have young women rather than old in her chamber, this might have been the case. Although Joan never concealed her sex, Warner and Gordon offer irrelevant digressions on legendary female saints who did, passing for male to escape female weakness and becoming monks. Hasn't anyone besides me noticed the flavor of masquerade and carnivalesque fantasy in Joan's behavior? Analogies are to be sought among costumers and historical reenactors, not bisexuals in tuxes. Joan relished the costumes her role required, but role-playing it was, with battle comrades for playmates.

As might be expected, Joan has not escaped the attentions of the anorexia lobby. Indeed, Joan's light eating and possible absence of menstruation suggests anorexia to Warner. But Joan wasn't really an ascetic. She avoided the extremes of rigorous fasting or peasant guzzling, following instead the correct knightly behavior. Manuals of chivalry exhorted the ideal man of arms to be temperate to preserve the fighting edge.

JOAN OF ARC was one of history's early women in combat. But was she a great warrior? In the theater of war, Joan's part was more standard-bearer than general. Military historians of the Hundred Years' War tend to discount her abilities as a commander. But she did see that morale, discipline, and seizing the initiative were vital elements in warfare. She banned swearing and camp followers and enjoined piety.

Joan herself was only violent in the abstract: She testified that she'd never killed anyone. Pitying casualties, she'd have preferred her enemies to surrender and withdraw. But her emergence in the public arena and early victories did change the psychological balance of the conflict. For the first time in decades, the French believed that they could win.

Joan has not escaped the attentions of the anorexia lobby.

In 1429 Joan did fulfill her goals of raising the siege of Orleans and getting the dauphin crowned as King Charles VII at Reims, the traditional coronation site for French monarchs. Thereafter the king—whom history would dub the Well-Served—lost interest in Joan. She was a threat to his prestige and his purse. After failing to take Paris, Joan was captured at Compiegne, May 23, 1430, when a Burgundian soldier yanked her from her horse by the trailing hem of her cloth-of-gold surcoat. Charles made no move to ransom or rescue her. Sold to the English, Joan was brought to trial the following January in English-occupied Rouen. The English feared her as a witch and desired her condemnation to discredit Charles. The University of Paris, which dreamed of controlling Church and State, also demanded her death.

Feminists tend to see the trial of Joan of Arc in terms of sexual politics—men oppressing a strong woman. But it was really pure politics. Her captors chose to try her in a French court of the medieval Inquisition, packed with pro-English clerics. Irregularities compromised Joan's trial, which unfolded in two phases over four months. She was condemned on her word alone without proof and lacked defense counsel. We can still read Joan's fearless answers in the trial transcript, so like the records of political show trials in all eras.

When the initial charges of witchcraft failed, Joan's accusers focused on her voices and their command that she wear male dress, making them signs of defiance against the Church. Up to this point Joan had given no details about the voices to anyone, but under relentless prodding she revealed visions as well. She identified her heavenly helpers as St. Michael the Archangel (symbol of French resistance) and the early virgin martyrs Catherine of Alexandria (philosopher and patroness of girls) and Margaret of Antioch (victor over a dragon, helper in childbirth).

Warner and Gordon, renegade Catholic schoolgirls, work hard to make Joan an insubordinate dissident who spurned Church authority for private conscience. But this ignores Joan's repeated attempts to appeal to the pope, which should have halted the trial. Joan was never anything but a loyal daughter of the Church.

Although Joan defied torture threats, she flinched at the sight of the stake and promised to give up male costume. But surrendering brought life imprisonment in solitary, not an easy time in a Church prison. Within three days, she reverted to men's clothes and the counsel of her saints. On May 30, 1431, without further sentence by a secular court, Joan was speedily burned as a relapsed heretic—in a dress.

Joan's defenders would later testify that she was tricked by her captors into resuming male garb and did it to defend herself against rape. Warner questions this, not noticing that male underwear and hose tied to a doublet do give a trifle more security than a woman's gown without panties (which were then unknown).

Though she died in shame, Joan had indeed turned the *continued on page 30*

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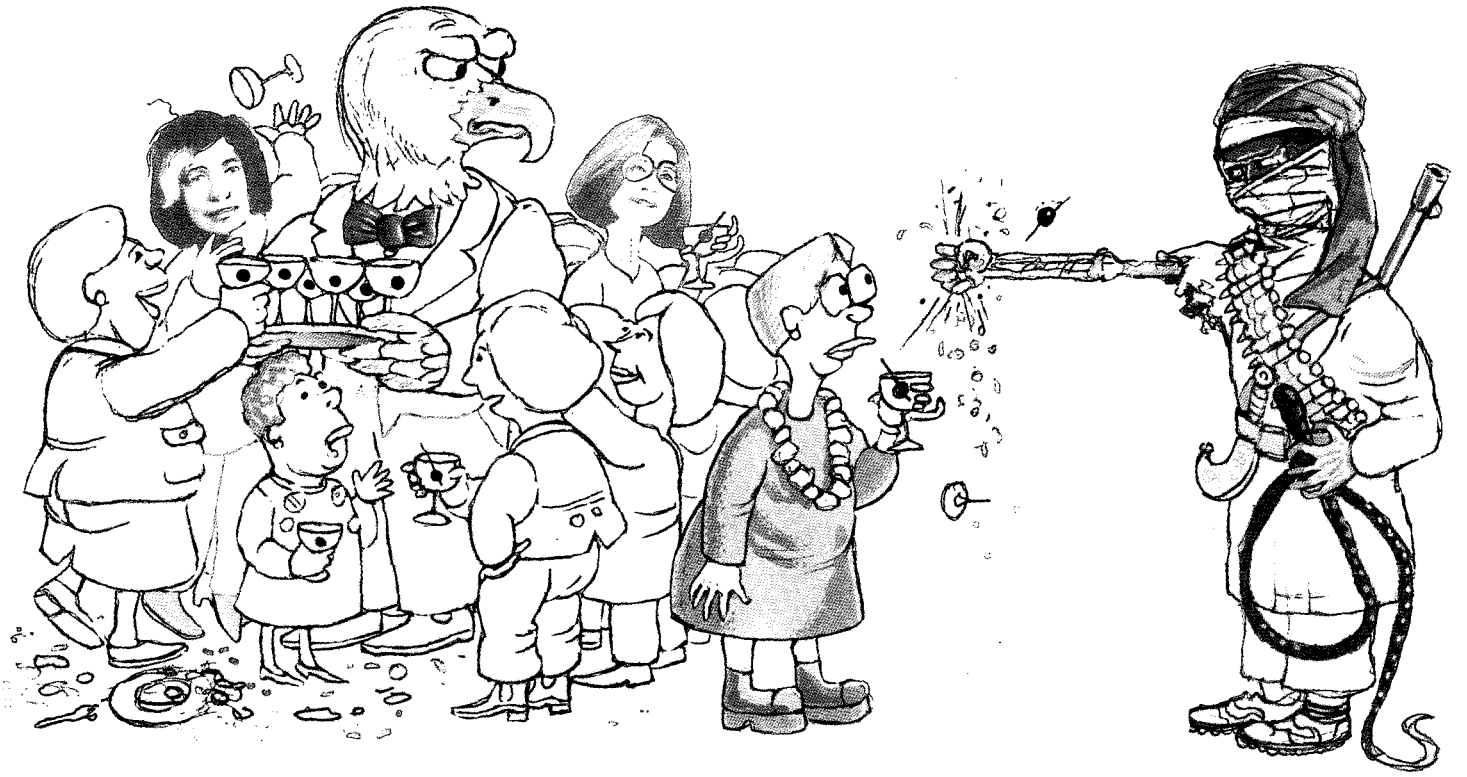

Feminists Go to War

Christine Stolba says feminists are between a rock and a hard place.

"War is a contagion," Franklin D. Roosevelt said, just four years before he led the United States into one that changed the course of history. But what is war today? For contemporary feminists, war is neither contagion nor geopolitical reality. War is simply the ultimate breakdown in communication. "I feel like I'm standing on a playground where the little boys are all screaming at each other, 'He started it!' and throwing rocks," the novelist Barbara Kingsolver opined recently in the *Los Angeles Times*. "I keep looking for somebody's mother to come on the scene saying, 'Boys! Boys!' Who started it cannot possibly be the issue here. People are getting hurt."

Feminist organizations, most notably the Feminist Majority Foundation, urged the destruction of Afghanistan's repressive Taliban regime for years. But when presented with the opportunity to do just that, they flinched from what was required: war. Peace and women's rights activist Hibaaq Osman, who heads the Center for Strategic Initiatives of Women in Washington, once advocated the use of force against the Taliban. But when war actually broke out, she took it back, confessing to the *Village Voice*: "I said it, but I was just making a point. War is not okay under any circumstances. The whole thing simply breaks my heart."

Feminists offer tepid support for the government's response to terrorism on an abstract level but querulously criticize the practice of the war. The National Organization for Women even used the terrorist attacks to flak its own domestic agenda, declaring that "in this time of national and global turmoil, the reasons we celebrate 'Coming Out Day' are more visible and more important than ever," and proceeded to call for a permanent lifting of the ban on gays in the military.

Feminists have a split personality when it comes to war. On the one

Drawing by Charles Jaffé

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hand, heroism, patriotism, and war-making are all linked to something with which feminists have always had a problem: men. War, in their eyes, is the ultimate expression of the violent, the masculine, the patriarchal. On the other hand, if there is going to be war, they want in on the power grab. Their agenda includes allowing women in combat, which they regard as a way to increase feminist political power (imagine the stump speech Hillary might have given if she'd been able to boast of a PT boat episode).

This schizophrenia was personified during the Gulf War by then-NOW president Molly Yard. Yard publicly opposed the war (NOW was a sponsor of the anti-war demonstration staged in Washington in January 1991) but, at the same time, argued that women in the military should see combat.

A feminist perspective on war may be gleaned from *Patriarchy: A State of War* by theorist Barbara Zanotti. Zanotti argued that violence and patriarchy are "mirror images" and that the only way to "end the state of war" is to free women from "the rule of fathers." In this spirit, *Nation* magazine's petulant Katha Pollitt complained that "9/11 and its sequelae have definitely rehabilitated such traditional masculine values as physical courage, upper-body strength, toughness, resolve."

Feminists have surprised even the most jaded observers with their inability to grasp what is at stake. Pollitt famously lamented her daughter's desire to display an American flag, telling the child that "going to war would reinforce the worst elements in our own society—the flag wavers and bigots and militarists." The Worldwide Sisterhood Against Terrorism and War released a statement entitled "Not in Our Name," decrying U.S. military retaliation; the signatories were a who's who of the feminist establishment: Gloria Steinem, *Vagina Monologues* author Eve Ensler, Jane Fonda, writer Robin Morgan, and Alice Walker.

Barbara Ehrenreich is perplexed by the war; she confessed to the *Village Voice*: "I don't know how you wage war against one person; it doesn't make sense." Evidently what does make sense to Ehrenreich is the capitalistic target of the terrorists' rage: "What is so heartbreaking to me as a feminist," she said, "is that the strongest response to corporate globalization and U.S. military domination is based on such a violent and misogynist ideology."

Feminist ambivalence about war is part of a larger geopolitical naiveté that has long hobbled the movement, and whose most misguided impulse is a view of all wars as preventable evils. This was obvious in a symposium sponsored by the National Women's Studies Association Journal on "Civil Society, Feminism, and the Gendered Politics of War and Peace" that was held shortly before the attacks on New York and the Pentagon. Contributors called for "a process of negotiation and conflict resolution where both sides come out as winners" and for the creation of "peacemaking forums" that "can tolerate more sexes than two," as if negotiating with terrorists like bin Laden would benefit from the unique contributions of the transgendered. Gordana Rabrenovic and Laura Roskos describe "destabilizing definitions" of war and peace in order to "undermine the hegemony of war as a popular human activity." Post-September 11, in a world where "destabilization" became a fact of life, in the form of anthrax spores and terrorism alerts, such rhetoric seems radically out of touch with reality.

In viewing women as "natural" communicators, negotiators, and peacemakers, feminists flirt with the idea that women are intrinsically different from men—a "girls will be girls" theory of war, if you will, though they claim such feminine attributes aren't biological. As Elise Boulding, a retired Dartmouth professor, noted in the symposium, "The skills for these negotiations are women's skills, not for biological reasons, but because they have developed in our experience-world." In a recent interview with CNN, Swanee Hunt, founder of the Women Waging Peace project at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, dismissed the question of whether women are naturally more peace-loving than men. But she seemed to think that women have better skills for ending war. The real solution to war, Hunt said, is "in the everyday lives and common sense" that women can bring to the negotiating table.

Whether one calls it empathetic communication skills or estrogen, the distinction is semantic. Most feminists appear to agree with the group Women in Black, a loosely-knit coalition of women who stage periodic peace demonstrations around the world and who argue that "a feminist view [of war] sees masculine cultures as especially prone to violence, and so feminist women tend to have a particular perspective on security and something unique to say about war."

Whatever you think about the difference between men and women, it is clear that feminist intellectuals don't have the heart to use manly force. Vivian Gornick, author of *Fierce Attachments*, for example, told the *Village Voice* that "force will get us nowhere. It is reparations that are owing, not retribution," while Gloria Steinem wanted to answer the annihilation of thousands of Americans with a volley of antibiotics: "We need an act as positive as the

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terrorists were negative," Steinem said, "for example, a massive airlift of food and medicine into Afghanistan."

Other feminists are more concerned about the enemy within than the enemy abroad. Marcia Gillespie, editor of *Ms.* magazine, urged Americans to ferret out internal enemies such as the religious right. "No, they're not the Taliban," she said, "but like the Taliban...many of them use religion to justify their words and actions." Her advice? The country should take "a close look at the actions of our government and our corporations, our banks and lending institutions, our foreign policies that have and are contributing to the problem." Novelist Alice Walker also alerted the public to the enemy within; having completed a ten-day, post-September 11 fast, she was moved to decree, "Just as we need to examine the contents of our colons, we need to examine the contents of our government."

Alice Walker's colon-gazing creed is of a piece with feminism's view of war as a breakdown of communication—something preventable by ceaseless and hectoring global "conversations" among nations. But an understanding of war as preventable suggests a world where almost nothing is worth fighting for.

Watching the unfolding American Civil War from across the Atlantic, the philosopher John Stuart Mill wrote that "War is an ugly thing, but not the ugliest of things: The decayed and degraded state of moral and patriotic feeling which thinks nothing worth a war, is worse." Mill was right. Feminists would do well to remember that it is often only by the use of force—not womanish conversation—that our freedoms and privileges are protected. ◆

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KARLYN BOWMAN'S

Poll-Pourri

Women and War: What the Polls Show

A RECENT POLL from the Pew Research Center suggests that the September 11 attacks may have made women more hawkish. This is something new. Twenty years ago, when the gender gap was born, the editors of *Public Opinion* magazine set about exploring the reasons for its existence. Reviewing a vast collection of survey data from the 1930s on, they noted that men and women differed consistently—though not always dramatically—on when it was proper for a society to use force. On nearly all the questions, women were more dovish than men.

In an uncharacteristically blunt question from 1952, 45 percent of men, but only a third of women, told Roper interviewers that we should "stop fooling around and do whatever is necessary to knock the Communists out of Korea once and for all even at the risk of starting WW III." Slightly more women than men (22 to 15 percent) wanted to pull out of Korea entirely. In 1968, in a Gallup question about the war in Vietnam, 50 percent of men called themselves "hawks" whereas only 32 percent of women did.

When CBS News and the *New York Times* asked in January of 1991 whether the war to defeat Iraq was likely to be worth the cost (described as "the loss of life and the other costs of war"), 69 percent of men said it would be worth it, but only 48 percent of women agreed. Men and women took opposite sides when CBS News and the *New York Times* asked, "Should American bombers attack all military targets in Iraq including those in heavily populated areas where civilians may be killed or should American bombers attack only those military targets that are not in heavily populated areas?" Fifty-seven percent of men said all targets should be attacked; 52 percent of women said only military targets should be. The data suggest that the more explicit the discussion of force, the larger gender differences seem to be.

On the broadest questions about a military response to September 11, the differences between men and women are small. In Gallup's September question, for example, 90 percent of men and 88 percent of women supported a military response to the attacks. But 76 percent of men and 55 percent of women supported a military response "if 1,000 American troops would be killed." In a question asked by ABC News/*Washington Post* interviewers in September, when the costs of war were made even more explicit—a long war with many casualties—women were more reluctant once again: 57 percent of men, but only 35 percent of women, supported military action in this case. By a margin of 64 to 24 percent, men in the Gallup survey opted for mounting a long-term war on terrorism over merely punishing the groups involved in the attack. Women are split evenly, 42 to 42 percent. Women are, in the words of the director of the *Washington Post* poll, Richard Morin, "hesitants," while men are hawks. ◆

Karlyn Bowman is a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

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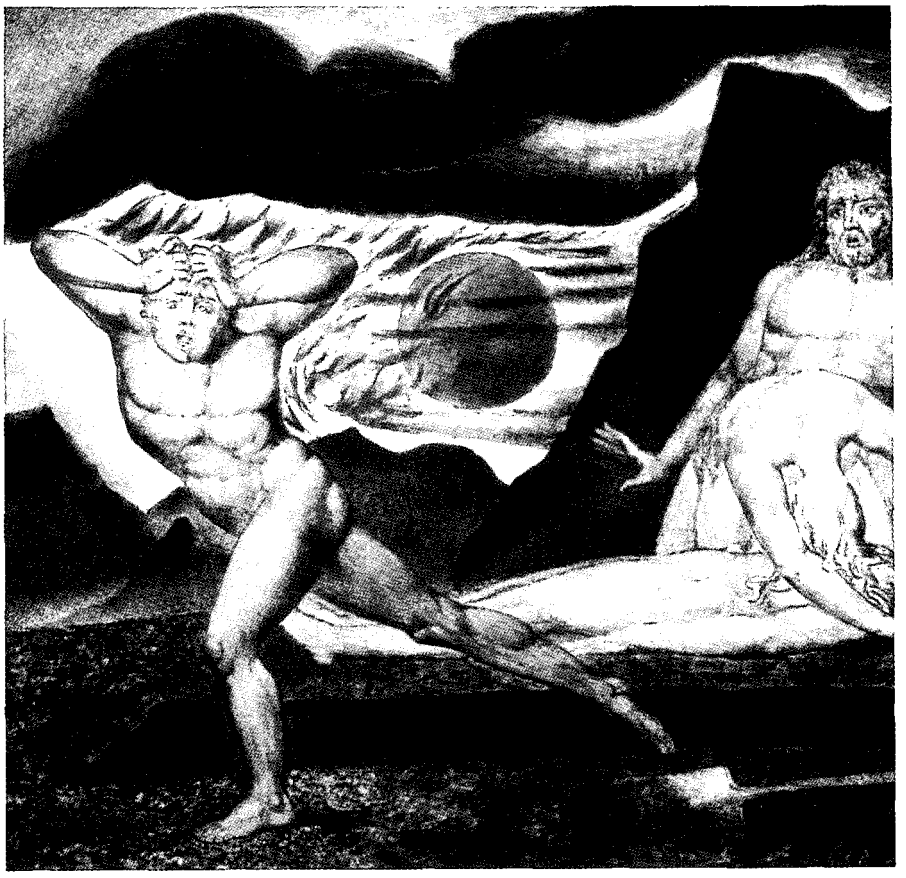

The Church of Global Warming

Jane S. Shaw is hot on the trail of environmental piety.

ALEXANDER COCKBURN—always the contrarian—is in hot water again, this time over global warming. Cockburn had the temerity to suggest that global warming is not caused by human activity. Adding fuel to the fire, the iconoclastic *New York Press* and *Nation* columnist mischievously opined that in some quarters belief in global warming is "a matter of theological conviction."

Although Cockburn has impeccable environmentalist credentials—he's eager to save the redwoods—he was anathematized as "seriously warped" for holding such heretical notions. Says Cockburn: "Dispute the thesis and they want to burn you at the stake."

Nobody, not even those who drive SUVs, wants to swelter to death on an overheated planet. Still, one wonders: Why did sparks fly over Cockburn's relatively tepid remarks? Was the gadfly columnist hot on the trail of some uncomfortable truth?

A lot of people may not recall that only thirty years ago, scientists were worried about global cooling, not warming. Writing in *Science*, two scientists suggested that increasing dust in the atmosphere could cool temperatures by 3.5° C. "If sustained over a period of several years, such a temperature decrease over the whole globe is believed to be sufficient to trigger an ice age," they said. One of those authors, Stephen H. Schneider, promoted "massive, worldwide actions to hedge against that threat."

But those who foresaw a new ice age were forced to chill out. What we really have to fear, it turns out, is global warming. Today Stephen H. Schneider is foremost among those who have warmed to the idea and are urging a massive, worldwide effort to stave off global warming's lethal effects.

Now, it is true that most scientists acknowledge an increase in average temperatures over the past century and expect at least a slight increase in the future. But whether this is going to cause significant harm is simply not known. MIT's Richard Lindzen, a highly respected scientist as well as a Democrat, points out that the whole theory of significant warming depends on feedback effects, especially how water vapor responds to slight temperature increases. Few of those feedback effects are understood.

Despite being far from certain, global warming has attained the status of a religious certainty. The idea that the world is going to shrivel with droughts, suffer floods and hurricanes, and drown in rising sea levels is accepted hook, line, and sinker. It has become a litmus test for environmental sincerity, a badge of concern about protecting the environment. If you interpret science in such a way that you think we must do something drastic immediately, then you are okay. If you feel we need to ac-

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cumulate more scientific knowledge, you are part of the vast right-wing conspiracy—or perhaps simply ill-educated, selfish, or just plain stupid.

Since most journalists want to be accepted for their enlightened opinions, those who want to be objective about the issue don't really know what to say. Take Gregg Easterbrook, who has written and spoken on the issue of global warming. A writer for establishment publications, Easterbrook long ago recognized that global warming will not be Armageddon. "The chances of runaway global warming are extremely small," he wrote in 1993, and he seems to maintain that skepticism today. He wrote in the July 23, 2001, issue of the *New Republic*, "Increasingly complex scientific formulas have widened, not shrunk, the range of uncertainty in computer-generated climate models; over the last decade the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) has both raised and lowered its 'best estimate' of how much the world may warm."

DESPITE BEING AGNOSTIC on the perils of global warming, Easterbrook thinks we must do something. He believes that by introducing a carbon-trading project and regulating methane emissions, President Bush could become "the world's greenhouse action hero"—and, according to Easterbrook, he ought to try it.

My theory is that global warming fills an important vacuum for those environmental activists who tend to be control freaks—modern Puritans. They want to take charge of every aspect of our lives from the cars we buy to the food we eat. Charles Rubin, a political science professor at Duquesne University, has sardonically suggested that instead of the word "environmentalism" we should substitute "everythingism." Since everything is "tied together in a fragile web of life, there is no event to which it is not possible to attach global significance," he explains. Thus "any aspect of human behavior might arguably need to be controlled."

But until global warming came along, everythingism was hard to get a handle on. Activists tried, one by one, to give various environmental issues "legs." Excessive population growth was going to destroy the planet, but that faded when it became clear that birth rates were plunging throughout the world. The ozone hole might have filled the void, but—let's face it—it's so arcane that only a few atmospheric chemists really understood it. It's also been a little less hip since the U.S. government signed the Montreal Protocol, which banned production of freon, a chemical blamed for our alleged ozone problems.

Fortunately, global warming, the "mother of all environmental issues," fell into the laps of activists at just the right time. Global warming is so—well—global. As its name implies, it can cover anything and everything. This was what they had been waiting for. Not to be cynical, but global warming also has enormous potential for fundraising.

Of course, the health of the planet and the people who live on it is hardly a frivolous concern. Environmentalists didn't invent their issues out of nothing. Back in the 1960s, when the movement was flexing its muscles, the air *was* dirty. Rivers and lakes *were* full of algae. Thanks to Rachel Carson, people were terrified of DDT. With such worries, it was natural (especially in the United States) for voluntary, activist organizations to proliferate. The fact that they chose to pursue federal legislation instead of voluntary actions was not surprising. Conservatives were concerned about the environment, too, but they were equally uncomfortable with the government expansion that various remedies implied.

At the same time, other things were going on, especially among influential intellectuals. A famous essay by a University of California history professor, Lynn White, Jr., became the mantra of many environmentalists. White had argued (in *Science* magazine, no less) that the Judeo-Christian religion was at fault for what he called the "ecologic crisis" because it places human beings above nature. The religions of Western civilization spur people to view nature as something to be manipulated and exploited.

Thus, a trend toward what was called biocentrism emerged. Epitomizing it was a comment by David Graber in the *Los Angeles Times*: "Until such time as *Homo sapiens* should decide to rejoin nature, some of us can only hope for the right virus to come along."

For anyone who looks carefully at biocentrism, it is full of holes. Economist Richard Stroup points out that it is really anthropocentrism at its most extreme. It allows nature to be "red in tooth and claw"; only humans are expected to treat every other species as they would like to be treated. Only humans can do evil. And they do. As Stephanie Mills wrote in 1989, people are "debased human protoplasm."

However off-base this view of mankind may seem, it has become deeply ingrained in activists' thinking. They toss off phrases like Dave Foreman's statement that "we are a cancer on nature" or David Quammen's claim that the earth is becoming a "planet of weeds."

Children are taught to disparage humanity. One book for preschoolers, *Rainforest*, tells how a man on a bulldozer destroys the rain forest and its animal life. Then the rains come and

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The typical American doesn't know that 17,000 scientists signed a petition urging that the U.S. government reject the Kyoto Protocol, the international climate treaty, because the science underlying global warming is so hazy.

wash the bulldozer off the cliff, killing the man. "The Machine was washed away!" the book concludes. "But the creatures of the rain forest were safe." To make the point clearer, a picture shows the man falling to his death.

College undergraduates get a similar message. In his textbook, *Environmental Science,* Daniel Chiras blames technology for unleashing "our biological imperialism," and for contributing to "the vast, unsustainable systems that support our lives."

Along with the creeping confusion about the relationship of man and nature is a vague but deep-seated anomie, an emptiness that takes the form of an avowed distaste for material goods, consumerism, and the capitalistic way of life. Many intellectuals long for a warm, communitarian life that is less consumerist and more spiritual (but not religious). The fall of the Soviet Union, for some of these intellectuals, was a disappointing event. Where could they take their idealism?

In an agonized article in the *New Yorker,* Robert Heilbroner in 1990 sorrowfully analyzed what went wrong with the Soviet economy. He then brightened. He concluded that there may be a place for their idealism after all, because of the "ecological crisis toward which we are moving at a quickening pace." This crisis will "affect all social formations, but none so profoundly as capitalism." With an environmental catastrophe looming, here was a refuge for these dejected souls.

Today, many intellectuals share Heilbroner's hope. Environmentalism has become the home of those who held out for something "better," those who wanted an alternative to the capitalism that has dampened the innate spirituality of humans and put them in the thrall of material goods. Today's environmentalism—which long ago handed over the mundane problems of cleaning up air and water to the bureaucrats at the Environmental Protection Agency—reflects that hostility to capitalism. Global warming has been a godsend for them.

Even *Newsweek* has noticed it. A recent article explains that global warming gives coherence to the "globalization" protest movement. "Because this slow-motion apocalypse can be traced to enormous multinational corporations, who market the fossil fuels that generate carbon dioxide, it is a perfect unifying force for global protest," writes Christopher Dickey.

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Instead, we get a scary picture of global warming from places like *Time* magazine. The cover of an issue last spring pictures the earth as the bright-yellow yolk of an egg frying in a hot skillet. The inside has page after page of disaster scenarios, from melting glaciers to the spread of dengue fever. *Time* reports that food production could be "thrown into turmoil," with "hundreds of millions of people" having to "migrate out of unlivable regions" because of global warming.

Time writer Michael Lemonick devotes only one sentence to the fact, confirmed by hundreds of studies, that atmospheric carbon dioxide, closely associated with global warming, makes plants grow more profusely, increasing, not reducing, yields from crops, making more food available, not less. Many botanists, including Sylvan Wittwer, a retired professor from Michigan State University, suggest that at least 10 percent of the increase in crop yields around the world in recent decades may stem from the carbon dioxide that has already been added to the atmosphere.

This is the kind of information you can't bring up in polite society. If you do, you'll find yourself joining Alexander Cockburn at the stake. But there is another angle on global warming: What if it is not the fault of mankind's hellish, capitalist activities?

That is just what Sallie Baliunas, senior staff astrophysicist at the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics, suggests. Baliunas argues that solar changes are making the earth warmer: "The best scientific evidence says that global warming as a result of increasing greenhouse gases in the atmosphere would be slow and insignificant compared to the natural changes of the climate."

For devotees of the Church of Global Warming this is bad news indeed. It is as if Cotton Mather had suddenly learned that there was no such thing as sin. Bummer. ◆

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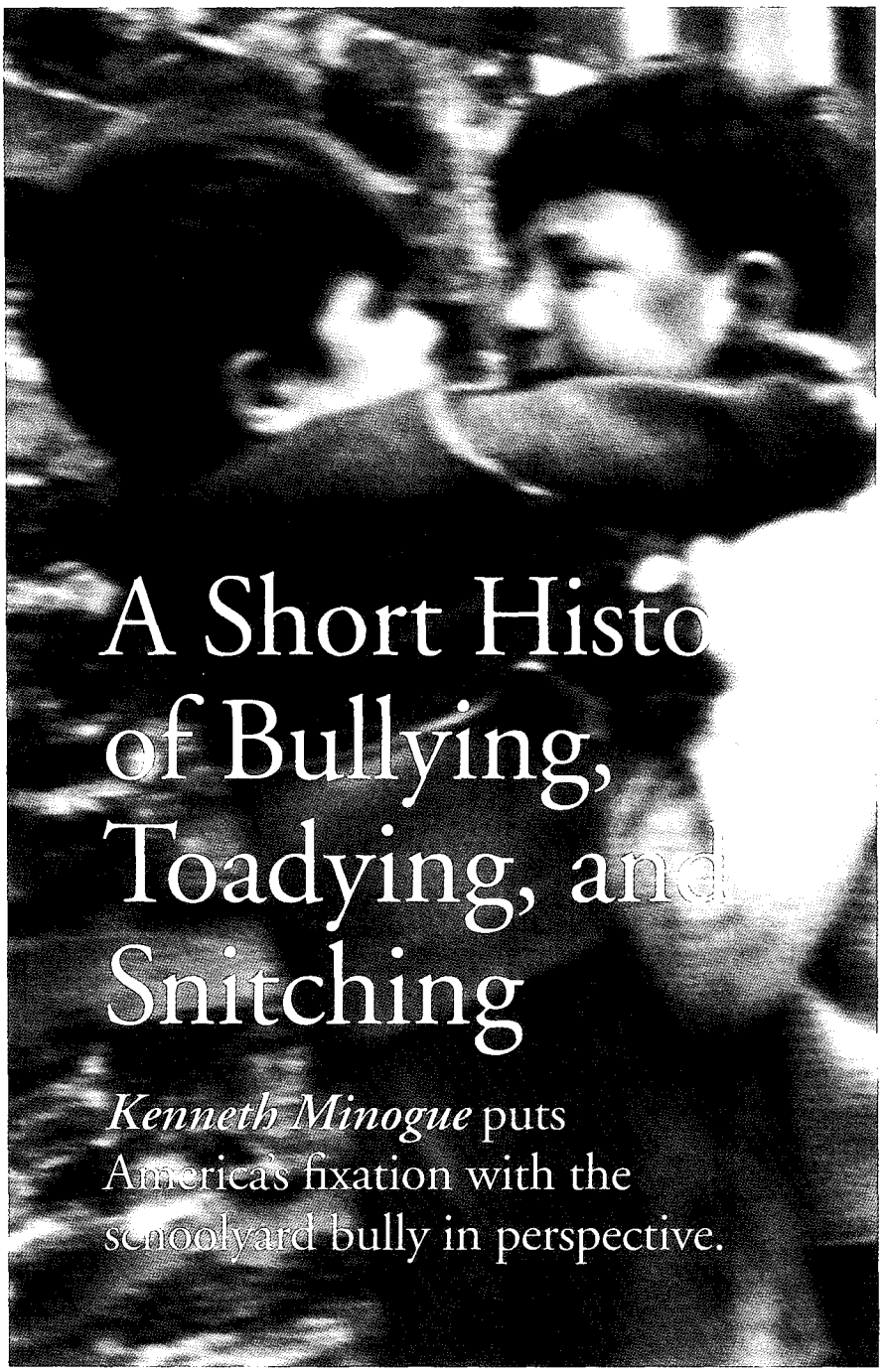

A Short History of Bullying, Toadying, and Snitching

Kenneth Minogue puts America's fixation with the schoolyard bully in perspective.

"LIFE BEING WHAT IT IS," Baudelaire wrote, "one dreams of revenge." No doubt, but not half so intensely, one might guess, as children bullied at school do. Bullying is the kind of experience that often determines the entire course of a lifetime. No revenge beats looking down on your tormentor a couple of decades later from the heights of fame and fortune.

To understand bullying, one must begin by recognizing that it arises directly out of the human delight in the exercise of power. It is, in Christian terms, a central part of original sin, of human imperfection. Bullying is pleasure in intimidating people, the intimidator feeling happily superior to the intimidated.

It takes a great variety of forms, from ostracism to demands with menaces for money or other benefits. The very miscellaneous thing called "sexual harassment" is a form of bullying and so, in a sense, is blackmail.

I suspect, though I may be wrong, that bullying is less common in other cultures, not because they don't take pleasure in power, but because bullying has become so institutionalized and the bullied take it so much for granted that they behave in socially accommodating ways. In these places, you don't have to bully anyone because your superiority, by virtue of caste, sex, age, or rank, is socially recognized—and in any case, there will be someone above you in the hierarchy, right up to the ruler.

My impression of Oriental cultures is that social etiquette depends upon having a pretty exact knowledge of who has the superiority on which all social order depends, even if it is only a matter of age, on the Confucian principle that the older person is the one who deserves respect. Women are not infrequently at the bottom of these particular heaps, and though they benefit from fairly elaborate customary power, they have little recourse against bullying and sheer intimidation at the family level.

Our starting point in considering bullying had better be, then, that it is a symptom of the imperfection of human beings, and that nothing is going to get rid of it. But in our Western societies, a rather different ethos has developed in which the power of one person over another has been minimized. At the most abstract level, this can be seen in the rule of law, which accords all who go to court an equal consideration before the law. At a lower level, it is to be found in manners, which regard both claims to superiority and demands for accommodation to be vulgar.

Just how these usages emerged is a long historical story, but what we can say is that Western Europeans devel-

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oped a preference for dealing with others as independent individuals. Such a taste is to be found most strongly in English-speaking peoples. This kind of equality is a complicated moral taste, but one aspect of it is that our interest in other people depends less on the formal admiration they accord to our superiority than to the ideas and attitudes they express, which we think might surprise and amuse us.

There is even a theological basis for this, in the hints in St. Augustine that God created a world of creatures having free will so that their decisions and actions would entertain him. Mere subordination is unamusing, and we have a vocabulary that allows us to express our disapproval of people whose aim is nothing else but to please—toady, creep, sycophant, etc., are the correlates of the bully.

This does not, of course, destroy the various forms of authority by which Western societies are ordered. Governments have legislative and executive power over us, the boss is still the boss (though one can always resign), teachers command what pupils must study, and patriarchal fathers tend to have the last word in families. But the point about what Westerners call "authority" is that it is always situational, and those who do not like it can always emigrate, resign, divorce, and so on. These options are not always easy, but it is important to us that they be available.

Bullying with us, then, is a natural yet a rather alien type of behavior, like oppression, harassment, and threats, and with these things, as with bullying, the current tendency is for the state to move in on it as the all-purpose solver of problems. Among the many aspirations toward perfecting modern societies will be found the view that no good ever comes from violence. People must, the doctrine goes, be taught to follow judicial and nonviolent forms of getting on together. Hence the official response to bullying tends to be that the victim of it should report it to the teacher, who would then take the matter up with disciplinary committees. The final recourse will be to the counsellor and perhaps the child psychologist.

Well, times change. In the past, the victim of bullying who ran to the teacher would have been despised as a "sneak." The thing called "telling tales" was much despised. On the other hand, this rather muscular ethic, demanding courage from the victim of bullying, can leave timid children at the mercy of some pretty thuggish fellows at school.

The only conclusion one can seriously draw is that there is no real solution to any of the problems that arise from the imperfections of human nature. To give discretion to head teachers depends upon an adult maturity, which may not be found. To counsel the bully is to encourage casuistry and hypocrisy of a kind that is rapidly spreading in our excessively "correct" world. And to instill in children their own responsibility to be courageous in their response to bullies may put upon some children a destructive burden.

Perhaps one problem lies in our very modern assumption that schooldays should be full of pleasure and enjoyment. A century ago, many people found school a miserable experience. That may not have been ideal, but what it meant to many was that the rest of life was, by comparison, a downhill breeze. ◆

Kenneth Minogue is a professor of government at the London School of Economics and author of Alien Powers: The Pure Theory of Ideology *and* The Liberal Mind.

Continued from page 22 tide against the English invaders. In 1449, Charles petitioned Rome to nullify Joan's sentence, more for his sake than hers. In 1455, the verdict was duly overturned for procedural error.

Joan's heroic reputation endured, surging with Romanticism in the nineteenth century. After the disaster of the Franco-Prussian War, anticlericals and Catholics fought over Joan's significance as patriot or saint, even erecting rival statues at her birthplace. Socialists put up one of Joan the warrior inspired by La France while Catholics showed her as a pious peasant with her saints. The atheist-led nationalists of Action Française promoted her canonization as strongly as devout Catholics. During World War II, the Vichy government used her for anti-British propaganda while the Free French made her Cross of Lorraine their emblem.

To provide a rallying point against French secularism, the Church that once had burned her beatified Joan in 1909. She was canonized in 1920. She was not, however, declared a martyr or put on the universal calendar of saints.

Pure, sober, simple, young, and impetuous—yet stubbornly loyal—Joan is a heroine for the ages. Moderns will see in her all victims of unjust trials, but in her own day this woman of pity was an agent of hope to people ravaged by generations of war. She stands for the weak overturning the strong.

Hope is the key, not the victory. As Joan's contemporary, the poet Alain Chartier declared: "She raised all spirits toward the hope of better times." ◆

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One last observation . . .

On High Alert

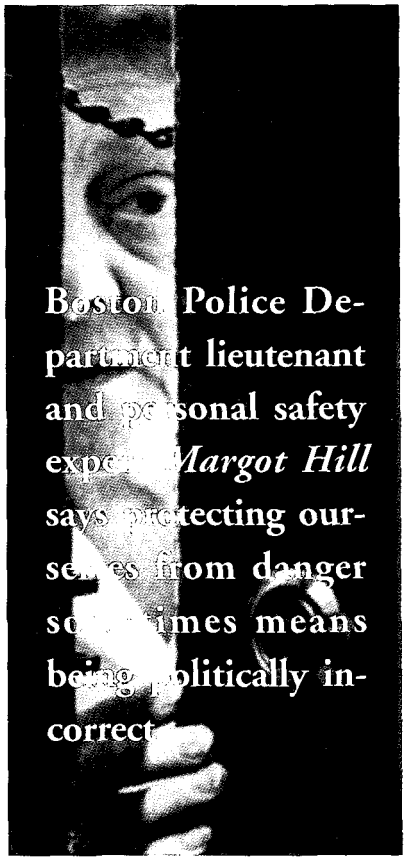
AFTER READING ABOUT those who survived the September 11 attacks, I realized again the importance of my favorite safety tip: Listen to your instincts. In situations of life-threatening danger, our instincts are often in conflict with what we are being told, or what we are conditioned to expect.

The killer might say, "I promise not to harm you." Threat management specialist Gavin De Becker calls this "the unsolicited promise"; it is designed to lull potential victims into a false sense of security. In his best-selling book *The Gift of Fear*, De Becker outlines how we can marshal our fears to work for us in times of danger. He directs us to look for signals and actions contrary to the words attackers use.

Many of those who survived the World Trade Center attack did so because they took in the signals of danger and fled, instead of being lulled by contradictory announcements on loudspeakers. The heroic passengers on the plane that crashed near Pittsburgh paid attention to their instincts rather than the hijackers' words.

Some act contrary to what our instincts tell us as part of our jobs—like the firefighters who run up the stairs that everyone else is running down or cops who head toward the gunfire. They are only able to do that because years of training and experience have honed their instincts to the point of using that fear and focus to save lives.

Those who are not trained for emergencies must recognize the signs of the dangers around us instead of denying their existence in our little corner of the world. Only by training ourselves to listen to instincts long buried under the rubble of denial and political correctness,



and the big one—the desire not to be thought of as rude—will we learn to survive an assault. We must play "what if" on a regular basis, imagining our lives in danger and making plans to protect ourselves. This does not sit well with the politically correct "make no judgment" crowd, but being safe requires that we make instantaneous and, yes, sometimes wrong, judgments.

Criminal profiling is taught as a specialty at the FBI Academy in Quantico for good reason. Years of studying the actions and behaviors of criminals—hard, quantifiable research—are the basis for the practice that has saved many more lives than it has endangered. Somehow, during the last decade, criminal profiling was morphed into "racial" profiling. Criticism of profiling was often based on a misunderstanding of criminal investigations and of what constitutes a justifiable stop. The legal term for it is "articulable facts to warrant a threshold inquiry." Criminal profiling depends less upon who you are than what you do or say, in the context of criminality. What De Becker analyzes in his studies of survivors is the unexpressed, "articulable" facts of their situations that led them to instantaneous judgments about their attackers in time to save their lives.

The horror of the WTC and Pentagon strikes is that, despite the many warnings, we were mired in denial and suffered from a lack of precise information garnered from human and, yes, unsavory confidential informants. If we are serious about our survival, we must admit to ourselves that though we are a species capable of incredible, heartwarming good, we are also capable of unspeakable violence and cruelty that has a name—evil. (Yes, Virginia, there are bad people in this world.) In law enforcement, meeting evil people disguised as good people is extremely unsettling, but it trains the officers to know evil when they see it. Just as criminals employ deception and guile to gain the confidence of their victims, we must be ready to use blunt force to protect ourselves from the predators.

In order to counter the violence perpetrated against us, we must first contemplate our ability to commit violence for goodness' sake. To summon that ability within ourselves we need only think of a loved one's being attacked to realize what we are capable of doing.

Can we do this? Our survival literally depends on it. ◆

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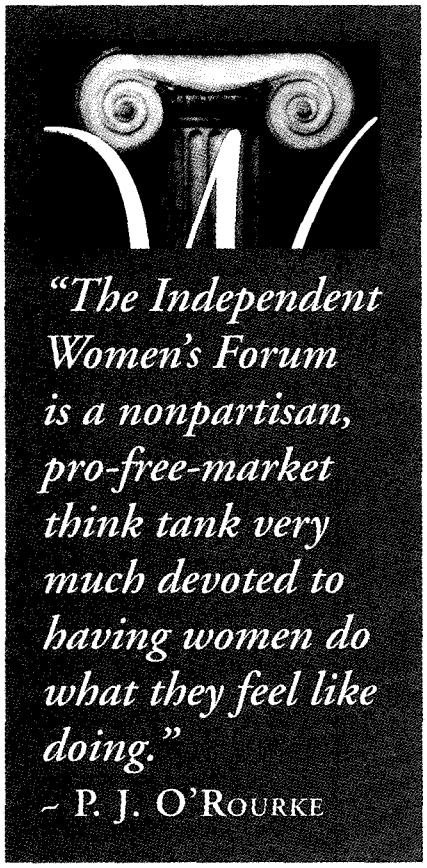
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